

THE DATE AND AUTHOR
OF THE SO-CALLED FRAGMENTS
OF TOPARCHA GOTHICUS

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IN 1819 the famous Hellenist, Karl Benedikt (Charles-Benoît) Hase published an annotated edition of Leo Diaconus.¹ Since that historian dwelt at length on the wars waged between the Russes, the Bulgarians, and the Byzantines in the seventies of the tenth century, it appeared natural that the edition should have been dedicated to Count Nicholas Rumjancev, chancellor of the Russian Empire. In his notes to Leo, Hase,² a keeper of Greek manuscripts at what was then the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris, made frequent use of unpublished texts. Some of these texts were part of the permanent holdings of the Paris Library; some had come there from abroad during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and remained under Hase's jurisdiction only temporarily, since they were returned to their original homes by 1815.

At one point in his narrative, Leo Diaconus mentions the taking of Kherson in the Crimea by Prince Vladimir in 989, and this gave Hase the opportunity to print three previously unpublished, and unknown, Greek fragments which, in his opinion, had a bearing upon that event. The first Fragment related how a party headed by its narrator crossed the frozen Dnieper and traveled through the steppe in the midst of a winter snowstorm; the second dealt with an attack launched at the approach of winter by some barbarians upon the area (or, rather, town) ruled by the narrator which was called Klimata; the third Fragment

¹ *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historia, scriptoresque alii ad res Byzantinas pertinentes. . . E Bibliotheca Regia nunc primum. . . edidit. . . et notis illustravit Carolus Benedictus Hase. . .* [= *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae*, 34] (Paris, 1819). This edition was reprinted, with some omissions, as Part XI of the Bonn Corpus in 1828. On both editions, cf. N. M. Panayotakis (Panayotakis), *Λέων ὁ Διάκονος, Α' Τὰ Βιογραφικά, Β' Χειρόγραφα καὶ ἐκδόσεις* (1965) (the same work appears also in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 34 [1965]), 111–26. Professor Panayotakis has prepared a new edition of Leo Diaconus, and I drew upon his results and used his suggestions on several occasions in this paper.

² For a recent appreciation of Hase (May 11, 1780 — March 21, 1864), with good bibliography, cf. A. Kollautz, "Jacob Philipp Fallmerayers Briefwechsel mit Karl Benedikt Hase und Oerstedt über die Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt," *Südostforschungen*, 18 (1959), 281–350, esp. 281–99. Among other works, cf. H. Rassow, "Zur Erinnerung an Carl Benedikt Hase," *Weimarische Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst. . .* (Weimar, 1865), 145–54; Ch. M. W. Brunet de Presle, "M. Hase, et les savants grecs émigrés à Paris sous le premier empire et sous la restauration," *Revue des cours littéraires de la France et de l'étranger*, 2, 20 (April 15, 1865), 317–26, translated, with some omissions and additions, in M. P. Bretos (Vretos), ed., *Ἑθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ. . . ἔτους 1867*, 206–31; A. R. Rhangabe, "Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἑλληνιστοῦ Ἀσίου (Hase)," in M. P. Bretos (Vretos), ed., *Ἑθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ. . . ἔτους 1868*, 72–83, esp. 72–75; M. Guigniaut, "Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de Charles-Benoist Hase," *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 27 (1877), 247–73; O. Heine, ed., *Briefe von der Wanderung und aus Paris* (Leipzig, 1894) [= substantially the same author's "Eine Wanderung nach Paris (1801)," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 25 (1880), 145–55, 287–304, and "Aus der Zeit des Consulats," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 29 (1881), 124–35, 424–37]; K. A. von Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik. Geschichte der Familie Hase in vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1898), esp. 77–111, 335–36 (with unpublished letters from the family archives); Ch. Joret, *D'Anse de Villoison et l'hellénisme en France pendant le dernier tiers du XVIII^e siècle* [= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, 182] (1910), esp. 422–24, 514; C. Pitoulet, "Le Père Hase," *Histoire de la venue en France de l'Allemand qui refusa Anatole France au baccalauréat* (Brussels, 1922); J. Kalitsunakis, "Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῖς καὶ Κ. Β. Hase," *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 8 (1933), 49–69; S. B. Kougeas, "Ὁ Hase εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα," *Νέα Ἑστία*, 14 (1933), 530–33. The manuscript Paris *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises* 6480, fols. 58^r–62^v, contains the following five obituaries of Hase: *Le courrier du dimanche*, March 27, 1864; *Journal général de l'instruction publique*, March 30, 1864; *Le moniteur universel*, April 1, 1864; *Beilage zu der Allgemeinen Zeitung*, April 1, 1864; *Beilagen zu der Allgemeinen Zeitung*, April 5 and 6, 1864.

reported the success of the narrator in repulsing that attack and spoke of an assembly composed of his (non-Greek?) allies, of the narrator's journey to a ruler holding sway to the north of the Danube, and of that ruler's investing the narrator once more with the government of the Klimata.

As the contents of the three Fragments are difficult to render in a concise form, the reader is offered a facsimile of their full text as it appeared in the *editio princeps* of 1819;³ the text is followed by my own English translation.

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NOTÆ PHILOLOGICÆ ET HISTORICÆ

Pag. 108. C.

τῆς Χερσῶνος ἄλωσιν] Hæc est illa Chersonis a Wladimiro Magno occupatio, quam Nestor Annal. 105. B. version. Scher. a. Christi 988 accidisse auctor est. Ad illustrandas res temporum illorum pertinent fortasse epistolæ dicam an commentarii fragmenta, servata in Cod. sæc. x exeuntis, S. Basilii, Phalaridis, S. Gregorii Nazianzeni epistolas varias continente. In hoc igitur Codice, qui fuit Bibliothecæ Regiæ, possessor, qui et legationem circa Danaprim (vide infra 254. D.) obivit, et oppido præfuit (257. D), litteris minutis perplexisque admodum, nec multo quam Cod. ipse recentioribus folia duo vacua illevis, multis verbis mutatis, inductis, superscriptis, ut dubitare non queas, eum hunc Cod., ut est exiguæ molis, in expeditionibus secum portasse, pagellisque ejus vacuis ad epistolas commentariosque meditandos esse usum. Dabo fragmenta quo ordine sunt in Cod. : tametsi legationem, de qua statim, non nisi C post bellum (vide alterum fragmentum 256. D.) accidisse facile dicas. Prius sic incipit imperfecte, de Danapris tractu, glacierum fragmentis lintres transmittentium infestantis :

Epistola
Græci cujus-
dam, sæc. XI.
circa
Danaprim
iter facientis.

^a Codex,
ἀπερίεργος.
^b Videtur deesse
aliquid vel hic,
vel post ai.

.. δυσχερῶς κατήγατο, καίτοι μὴ πλείους
πρὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνου σφῶν δεχομένου. ἔγω
πάνυ φαυλότατα ἦν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῶτα ὁμῶς
χώρει εἶχε παρὰ τῷ ρεύματι· πολλὰ γάρ
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις πάρεσι δυοὶ συνερέετο
καὶ ξυνέπιπτε· καὶ ὅσαχού τοῦτο ξυμβάλλει,
ἐκπιδύντες^a τῶ πλοίῳ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ^b τῷ πύρρῳ
καθῆντο, καὶ ὡς ἐφ' ὀλέθρου ἐφύεροντο. Ἐντα-
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ κατέβραξεν ὑποβρύχια· οὕτως
ἄρα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Δάναωρις ἐτύγχανεν.
Ἴμεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ χαλεπώτερον καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον
προσεδεχόμεθα, καὶ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ ὀρμίζόμενοι
κατ' αὐτῷ, τῷ μὴ πεπῆχθαι. Καὶ ὃ πολλὰς
πρὸ ὑστερον ἡμέρας τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπῆλταχῇ πέσσειν,
καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἦν ἰσχυρόν· ὡς καὶ περὶ καὶ
ἵπποις ἀφόβως ἵεναι κατὰ τῷ ρεύματι, καὶ
ἀγῶνας ὡς ἐπὶ πεδίων ἀνδρικῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι.
Καὶ καθάπερ τις θαυμαστοποιῶν ὁ Δάναωρις
ἐδεδείκτο, βαρὺς μὲν καὶ χαλεπὸς τὸ πρὶν
αἰωρούμενος^c, καὶ μονοουχὶ πρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν
ὀρῶντας πτόμας φοβῶν· μετὰ δὲ μικρὸν ἀνεῖναι
τε, καὶ πτόμας μελακισθῆναι, ὡς ὅφ' ἀπάντων

.. difficulter applicabant [lintres], ta-
metsi unaquæque earum non ultra ternos
homines caperet : adeo erant mirabiliter
exiles. Quanquam ne sic quidem locum
invenire poterant in fluctu, multis ea-
rum duobus maximis glaciei frustis col-
lisis atque contritis : quod quoties acci-
debat, exilientes e lintre qui inerant, in
glacie considebant, ac velut super oner-
aria navi vehebantur. Aliæ lintres vel D
hauriebantur fluctibus : tam infestum
tunc se declarabat Danapris. Nos vero
ibi ægre diuque expectavimus, velut
succensentes flumini, quod non esset
glaciatum. Nec multos dies post, erat
aqua tum undique gelu constricta, tum
mirifice firma : ut pedites equitesque
intrepide per fluxum cominearent, cer-
taminaque tanquam in campis strenue
ederent. Ita quasi præstigiatores ali-
quem se Danapris præbebat, prius vio-
lenter ac sæve elatus, et prope dicam
aspicientibus universis terrorem inji-
ciens : mirumque eundem brevi tempore
submissum fractumque adeo videri, ut

³ In subsequent notes, the Fragments will be cited by the page of the Paris edition, reproduced here in facsimile.

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A illuderent et conculcarent omnes quasi subterraneum factum, et in latibulum aliquod a se ipso absconditum. Neque enim tantum aquas manantes referebant fluentia, quantum montes asperos et petrosos ostendebant. Et subter fluens liquor quanam in re aquæ vel par vel similis poterat videri?

II. Ita mœstitia nostra in hilaritatem conversa est: complosis manibus proxime accessimus, per aquor equitantes. Transgressi nullo negotio cum in vicum Borion venissemus, ad corpus reficiendum jumentaque curanda nos convertimus, quæ ipsa ex majori parte aut erant invalida, aut defecerant. Confectis ibi diebus aliquot necessariis ad vires reparandas, accingebamus nos Maurocastrum profecturi. Sed jam paratis rebus omnibus, cum nihil aliud obstaret, ipsa media nocte (quanquam maturius profectum oportebat), flante tunc aquilone gravissimo, hieme omnium sævissima se præcipitante, ut facile crederes, impervia esse itinera, nec obdurare sub dio ullum, propeque fieri non posse, ut qui tecto non servaretur interitum effugeret, tunc, inquam, formidine commoti subsistere ibidem nosque continere statuimus. Cujus consilii auctor apud sodales ego exstiti: non esse ullo modo domibus exeundum, nedum abnoctandum inde: quod princeps sidus (Saturnum vocamus) jam ad vesperum in conspectum se dabat, inque similitudinem naturæ ejus immutabatur aër. Transibat enim tunc Saturnus circa initia aquarii, sole brumalia signa permeante. Quare tempestas, ubi semel occoperat, ad majorem semper sævitiam progressa est, ut quæ prius terrifica nobis visa fuerant, cum subsequentibus collata

D ludus prorsus viderentur: tam luculenter se hiems quoquoque diffuderat. Ibi diebus compluribus confectis, vix tandemque cogitatio aliqua domum redeundi subiit animum, aëre quoque serenior se repræsentante.

III. Itaque egressi sumus, ab incolis splendide stipati: omnes me manibus complosis approbant, me tanquam necessarium unusquisque suum respicit, mihi maxima precatur. Hoc die stadia LXX, neque illa integra, emensi sumus, idque prægressis ante nos aliis, qui maximam vim nivis jam dimoverant. Postridie ejus diei statim a principio difficillime pro-

παίξεσθαι τε καὶ κολιπεπατῆσθαι, ὑπόγειός τις ὥσπερ δεικνύμενος, ὑπὸ κατὰδυσίν πινα ἑαυτὸν κολιπεύσας. Οὐ γὰρ ὕδασι οὕτω νάσιν ἔσκει τὰ ρεύματα, ἀλλ' ὄρη σκληρὰ^a τίνα καὶ λιθὰ δὴ πολλὰ ἐδέδεικτο. Τί γὰρ ἴσον ἢ εὐκόλως τὸ κατὰφείμενον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὕδατι;

^a Hæc sunt nam intricatè scripta, ut nescias utrum σκληρὰ in σκληρὰ legend. sit.

β'. Ὅθεν ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰφές εἰς χερσὶν μεία-
βέβλητο· καὶ χεῖρας ἀνακροτήσαντες ἱκανῶς
προσίμεν, κατὰ πέλαγος ἰσπασάμενοι. Ἀκω-
λύτως τε διεβάντες καὶ κατὰ τὴν κάμην γενό-
μενοι τὴν βορῶν, πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐτρέφθημεν
καὶ ἵππων ἐπιμέλειαν, ἡπορημένων καὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ κολιπεπονημένων ὡς πλείον. Καὶ κεῖ ἡμέ-
ρας ὅσον ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς διετρέψαμεν, ὡς
πρὸς τὸ Maurocastron χωρεῖν ἡπειρημέτα.
Ὡς δ' ἔπειμα ἦν ἡμῖν τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐμπο-
δὼν ὑπῆρχεν ὁδὸν, περὶ μέσας νύκτας αὐτὰς
(ὅτε καὶ παροϊαίτερον ἡμᾶς ἐξουήσασα ἐχρῆν),
ἄρκτου τότε βαρύτατον πνεύσαντος, καὶ χει-
μῶνος παντὸς μάλλον χαλεπωτάτου κατάρρε-
γόντος, ὡς ἀβάτους μὲν τὰς διόδους οἶσθαι,
μηδὲνα δὲ ὑπαίθριον ζῆν, σχεδὸν δὲ ἀδύνατον
εἶναι τὸν μὴ τέρη σωζόμενον περιεῖναι, δέισαντες
ἀναπεπαύσθαι καὶ ἡρεμεῖν ἐγνώμεν αὐτῶ· ἐμὴ
τοῦτο τοῖς συσσίτοις εἰπόντος, ὡς δ' εἴ τις οἰκίας
ὁπωσὺν ἐξίεναι, οὐδὲ ἀποκοίτοις ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε
γενέσθαι· τῷ αὐτῶν τῷ ἄστρον ἐσπείρον φάσιν
ἤδη ποιεῖντος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον μεταστρε-
πομένου τοῦ περιέχοντος (Κρόνου δὲ καλου-
μένου^b). Καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχε περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
αὐτοῦ διῶν ὕδροχόος, ἡλίου κατὰ τὰ χειμερινὰ
διετρέχοντος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν χειμῶν ἐξέσκαμος
ἀεὶ προσέβαινε χαλεπωτέρως, καὶ ἐνέβη τὰ
σφοδρότερον ἡμῖν δόξαντα φοβερά· παιδία κατὰ
παῖς πρὸς τὰ μετὰ τῶντα δεικνύει· οὕτως ἀεὶ
λαμπρῶς ὁ χειμῶν διέσχε πανταχῇ. Ἡμέρας
δὲ διετρέψαμεν ἱκανὰς, μόλις ὁφείποτε καὶ
τῆς πρὸς τὰ οἰκία μνήμη τις ἐπανόδου εἰσῆ, ἐ-
υδεινοτέρου καὶ τῷ περιέχοντος δεδειγμένου.

^b Ante verba
πὺ αὐτοῦ
legitur καὶ ὡς
ὅτι τὸ ἄστρον ἐμὴ
δείκνυται· post
καὶ πρὸς illud
τὴν αὐτῆς φάσιν·
post περιέχοντος
illa, φύσιν ψυχο-
παῖς ἢ χειμῶ-
νος / sic / δοκῶν.
Quæ omnia ab
ipso auctore in-
ducta sunt: verba
Κρόνου δὲ καὶ
videntur loco
moti.

γ'. Καὶ δὲ ἐξήμεν, δορυφορούμενοι παρὰ τῷ
ἐγγχωρίων διαφανῶς, πάντων εἰς ἐμὲ τὰς χεῖ-
ρας ἀνακροτούντων, καὶ βλέπόντων ὡς πρὸς
οἰκεῖον αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εὐχομέ-
νων. Τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐβδο-
μήκοντα σταδίοις παρημέψαμεν, καὶ τῶντα
πρὸς ἡμῶν ἄλλων διαβεβηκότων καὶ τὸ πολὺ
τῆς χιῶνος ἐκκρουσθέντων. Τῇ δ' ὑστερία

^c Sic Cod.

A oportet, recessimus ab illis metu, ne ipsi priores ab iis opprimeremur, statuimusque iis quantum possemus repugnare. Æque enim universos diripiebant inhumanissime et pessundabant, ut quædam bellæ in omnes impetum facientes. Nulla his inerat vel erga conjunctissimos continentia, nec ratione ulla aut justī discrimine in patranda cæde volebant uti : sed Mysorum prædam, quod aiunt, ipsorum regionem reddere malo ac pernicioso consilio meditabantur. Evanuerat superior eorum æquitas et justitia : quas præcipue colentes tropæa antehac

B maxima statuerant, adeo ut civitates et gentes ultro accederent illis. Gliscebant nunc, quæ velut e perpendiculo (quemadmodum aiunt) a virtutibus illis distant, injustitia et intemperantia adversus subditos : neque ornare et ex re ipsarum administrare civitates dedititias, sed redigere in servitutem et excindere constituerant. Conquerentes de dominis incolæ, seque nihil mali commisisse liquido demonstrantes, nihil amplius proficiebant, quam ut morte non afficerentur. Vis nimirum tanta malorum ingruerat, ut res humanæ quasi ruina aut

C voragine aliqua inopinata ac fatali percussæ obrutæque horrendum in modum viderentur. Erant exinanita hominibus oppida plus x, pagi plane deserti non minus quingentis : vicinitates denique et confinia nostra velut tempestate obruebantur : incolæ innocentes, pactis juratis traditi, manibus obtruncabantur gladiisque hostilibus.

II. Ejusmodi pestem, generatim omnes misere conculcantem, cum aliquamdiu per infelices conterminos nostros obambulasset, postremo ad præsidium meum quoque fortuna infesta adduxit. Quam quia jam antehac eram veritus, in magna cura versabar, ne accideret improviso, nec latente impetu continuo res nostras everteret. Deinde, ubi perspicuum aderat periculum, omnesque palam fatebantur, in discrimen nos vitæ venisse, ego tunc quidem perniciem quam aptissime poteram repuli, quamvis in extremum pæne periculum adductus. Verum inde abruptis commerciis bellum inter nos et barbaros ortum est, in quo neque communicabant amplius nobiscum (tametsi sexcenties de compositione ad illos mittebam), nec sine præliis mutuis res gesta est. Ita bellum continuo

δείσαντες τὸ μὴ φθῆναι ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθῆντες, ἀπέστημεν, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ δυνατόν ἀντιτάχῃ διενόηθημεν, πάντας ὁμοίως λεηλατούντων καὶ ὁμοεισομένων ἀπομυζοπότοις, ὥστε πῶς θεία κατὰ πάντων τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνδείκνυνται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν οἰκιστῶν φεῖδω τις εἰσῆει αὐτοῖς, ὅδε λογισμῷ τινὶ ἢ κρίσει δικαίᾳ τὸν φόνον εἰργάζομαι ὀφθέντο· ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν· ^a Cod. Mysῶν.

λείδῃ καλυμένην θέσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν· ^b γῆν κακῶς καὶ ἀσυμφόρως μεμελετήκεσαν. Ἀνατέτραπτο γὰρ τὸ πρὶν αὐτοῖς ἴσον καὶ δικαίον· ἃ δὴ περὶ πλείους πμῶντες τὸ πρῶτον τρώπια· τε τὰ μέγιστα κατωρῶκεσαν, καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη αὐτεπαγέλειως προσήσαν αὐτοῖς. Νῦν δ' ὥστε ἐκ διαμέτρου ἀδικία τοῦτο καὶ ἀμετρία κατὰ τῶν ἡσυχῶν ξυνέστηκε. καὶ πόλεις ἡσυχῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ θεωρεῖν καὶ συμφερόντως εὐνομεῖν, ἀνδραποδίζειν καὶ διαφθεῖρειν ξυνέθεντο. Σχετλιάζοντες τε κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ ἀδικοῦν βεβαίως δεικνύντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅδε μᾶλλον ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὴ τεθνᾶναι. Φορὰ γὰρ τις, ὡς εἰκεν, ἔπαυσε κακίας συμπεθεῖν, ὡς περικλύεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φοβερότατα συνεχωσθαι δοκεῖν, ὡς ἐκ συμπτώματος ἢ πινος χάσματος παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ χαλεπῶς. Πόλεις μὲν γὰρ πλείους ἢ δέκα ἀνθρώπων ἐξεκένωσαν, κῶμαι δὲ ἐκ ἐλάττω πεντακοσίων παντελῶς ἐρημώθησαν· καὶ ἀπλῶς, τὰ γαίονα καὶ πλησιόχωρα ἡμῶν ὥστε ἐκ χειμῶνος ἐπικλυθέντα ἐγένοντο, ἄνθρωποι τε, ἡδικοῦτες μὲν, περιολιθέντες ἐπὶ ὁμοσίᾳ, χειρῶν ἔργον καὶ ἱελοῖς ἐγένοντο.

^b Sic: prius scripsit ἡμῶν, sed id induxit.

Chersonesus
Taurica
populata est
x vel xii.

β'. Τὸν δὲ τοῖτον ὅλεθρον καὶ κοινὴν πάντας κακῶς διαφθείροντα, καὶ περιελθόντα τοῖς παλαιπώροις ἡμῶν ἀστυλείοις, καὶ πρὸς πλὴν ἐμὴν ἀρχὴν τελευταίως ἡ πονηρὰ τύχη προσῆξεν, ὑφορώμενον μὲν ἐμοὶ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ πολλὴν ποιούμενῳ πρόνοιαν, μὴ ἂν ποτε ἐξαιπναίως ἐμπέσοι, μὴ δ' ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν λυμηναιεν. Ὡς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κινδυνὸς οὐκ ἐκινδυνεύοντες, ὡς τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς νῦν ἡμῶν κινδυνεύει, τὸν μὲν τότε ὅλεθρον σφώπατ' ὡς εἶχον ἀπεκρουσάμεν, ἐμοῦ καίπερ τὰ ἔσχατα παρὰ μικρὸν κινδυνεύσαντος. Τὸ δὲ σπὸς τοῦτο, πόλεμος ἡμῶν ἀκρηκτὴ καὶ βαρβαρὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ ὅτε ἐπεμύνητον ἐπὶ παρ' ἡμῖν (εἰ καὶ μυριάσις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκνήρυκεον), οὔτε ἀμαχητὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦμεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πόλεμος εὐθὺς ἤρξατο, ὁ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγγύς ἦν

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A nantes, præterquam quod ille exercitu magno valeret vique bellica efferret sese, ab illius vitæ ratione propriis moribus non differrent: idcirco statuerunt pacisci cum illis seque dedere, me autem negotium perficere publicitus omnes decreverunt. Ita profectus sum ad servandas fortunas nostras, eumque talem deprehendi, qualem desiderare quis maxime posset. Atque ita, ubi colloquio brevi, ut poteram, totum negotium transegeram cum eo, ille rem maiorem, plus quam ullam, reputans, mihi Clematum imperium iterum volens lubensque omne tradidit, addiditque etiam præfecturam totam, et ex ipsius regione redditus annuos idoneos largitus est.

γρατῷ ἰσχυρίῳ πολλῶ καὶ δυνάμει μάχης ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἥθεσί τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν σὺν ἀποδραφερόντες, ἐκείνων καὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰδῶσειν σφᾶς ξυνέθεντο, καὶ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰξεν κοινῇ πάντες ἐπέφησαν. Καὶ ἀπήλθον, ἵνα τὰ ἡμέτερα σωθῶσι, καὶ ἐνέτυχον αὐτῷ ὡς εὐχαιτ' ἂν μάλιστα τις. Καὶ, ὡς δυνάτῳ ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ πᾶν συμπεράνας αὐτῷ, ἐκείνος μὲν πάντως μᾶλλον * μείζον τὸ παρᾶγμα ἐλογίσαστο, ἐμοὶ δὲ τίμῃ τῇ Κληματαίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἀσμένως πᾶσθαι ἐδόξο, καὶ προσέθηκε καὶ σατραπείαν ὅλην, ἐν τε γῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ παρὰσάδοις ἐπέλειους ἰσχυρὰς ἐδώρησάτο.

Clematenses
ultro
se dedunt.

* Sic Cod.

Desinit hic præclarum illud plenumque rerum novarum fragmentum: quod si commentatio scriptiove, unde manat, integra ætatem tulisset, næ tunc haud paulo plus, quam nunc, sciremus de historia Chersonesi Tauricæ in tenebris, ut ita dicam, jacente ab a. 950, circa quem Constantinus Porphyrogeneta scripsit, usque ad colonias Genuensium in hos tractus sæc. XIII. deductas. Speremus certe, excussis per alias bibliothecas codd. Græcis medii ævi, lucem novam huic quoque historiæ parti oblatum iri: idque ut confidamus fore faciunt Ill. Comitis Nicolai de ROMANZOFF magnificentia, liberalisque ac generosus animus, quo incitatus cum reliquis disciplinas omnes fovet, tum maxime historiam patriæ locupletari cupit et ornari.

Translation

FRAGMENT 1

[Leo Diaconus, pp. 254C–256D, Paris ed., = pp. 496–498, Bonn]

...they [i.e., the boats] would land (κατήγετο; float down?) with difficulty, although each of them held only three men; of so flimsy <a construction> were they. But even they found no place (?) in the current, for many of them would be crushed between two huge floes and would threaten to collapse; and whenever this happened, those in the boat would jump out of it, sit on the floe, and float on it as if on a towed boat (ἐφ' ὀγκάδος). And some of the boats did break down and sink, so violent happened to be the Dnieper's anger. And we waited there, very distressed (? χαλεπώτερον), for quite a long time, and we were angry at the river, as it were, because it would not freeze over. And a few days later the water froze over everywhere (ἐπανταχῇ) and was mighty firm, so that one could fearlessly walk on foot and ride on horseback through (on top of?) the current (κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος), and contend in games in a manly fashion as if <one were> on a plain. And the Dnieper appeared as a sorcerer of sorts, at first rising (? αἰωρούμενος) in heavy anger and instilling fear into almost everyone beholding it; but soon thereafter, it relented somewhat and was so much mel-

lowed that it <permitted> everyone to make fun of it and to trample upon it; it appeared to be subterranean, as it were, and to have settled down in some hole. For its flow did not resemble running waters, but rather hard and rocky mountains. For in what respect was that which flowed underneath (τὸ καταφερόμενον ἐκεῖνο; rushed down?) identical with or resembling water?

Hence our despondency turned into rejoicing and, after having burst out in great applause, we approached it (? προσίμεν), having ridden over the surface of the sea. We crossed it without hindrance, and, having arrived at the village of Borion, we turned to food and drink and took care of our horses, which, too, were in great want (? ἡπορημένων) and fatigued. We spent there as many days as were necessary to regain strength, and we were anxious (ἡπειγόμεθα; hastened?) to move on to Maurokastron. But as we were ready <to break up> and no obstacle remained, around midnight (for it was appropriate that we should start our journey rather early) a northern wind started to blow with great violence, and such a heavy storm broke out that the roads were considered impassable and no one <was given a chance> to survive outdoors. <Consequently,> we were seized with fear and decided to make a halt and to wait quietly on the spot. I told my companions (συσσίτοις) not to leave their houses under any circumstances or to sleep out, for the first of the stars was in its vespertine phase and the surrounding air (τοῦ περιέχοντος)—it was called Saturn—was turning to be like it. <This star> happened to be moving about the beginnings of <the sign of?> Aquarius, while the sun was traversing the winter <part of the zodiac?>. The storm, having begun, continued to increase in force, and it turned out that what we had previously considered bad <weather> now appeared to us as mere child's play in comparison: so completely (? λαμπρῶς) did snow spread (extend?) everywhere. We spent quite a few days <there>, and finally and reluctantly (? μόλις ὀψέ ποτε) began to think of a return journey to our own homes, especially since the surrounding air had cleared.

Accordingly, we left, with the natives accompanying us in a splendid (? διαφανῶς) procession. They all applauded me; each one of them considered me a <particular> friend of his and wished me the best of luck. On that day (? τότε) we covered less than seventy stadia, although other people had gone ahead of us and cleared (? ἐκκρουσαμένων) most of the snow. The next day, however, we moved forward with the greatest difficulty from the very beginning, struggling with the snow as if it were a sea. It seemed that the earth had disappeared, and that the snow was of a peculiar nature; the horses <sank and> were invisible up to their very necks; and the beasts of burden, although they brought up the rear end, were perishing, and many of them remained <lying> on the spot. For it was said the snow was four cubits deep, and hardly passable. Moreover, many of those who accompanied us left for their homes, considering the phenomenon to be beyond human strength. In fact, the distress was unusually great (οὐ ξυντρόφων), since difficulties beset <us> on all sides: down below there was deep and dense snow; up above, heavy winds were blowing. We did not expect respite from any direction, nor could we guess from where an improvement could come for us (since all <measures> proved

to be vain and of no avail in our straits at that time); there was no way we could kindle a fire, nor did the snow leave us the smallest (? ἀκαρῆ) room for resting.

We had shields for beds at night; they were everything at once for us: splendid beds and bed-covers (? ἐπικλίνια). We provided rest for our bodies upon them next to a skimpy fire. We lacked both sleep and dreams, the latter having fled from us as if they, too, had been seized by fear. No one appeared more resistant than his neighbor, but all showed the same <poor> disposition of soul and body, the calamity being the same for all. One man blessed the dead, for they had been relieved both of preoccupation and trouble; another bewailed the survivors (ἐσχετλίσεν κατὰ τῶν ἐσομένων; complained against the future?), <considering> in what misery they were to live (τὸ ζῆν ἐκμετρήσουσιν; die?). As for the scouts (πρόσκοποι), they, too, succumbed to exhaustion, overcome by the magnitude of the evil, and were not able to advance, moving blindly through the snow. What was worse, we were advancing through enemy country, and for that reason our situation was not without danger; and the evil of the snow was equaled by that of the enemy.

FRAGMENT 2

[Leo Diaconus, pp. 256D–258B, Paris ed., = pp. 500–502, Bonn]

To begin with, we decided then to fight the barbarians; or rather, truth to tell, we retreated, fearing that they might destroy us first, and resolved to oppose them <defensively> according to our possibilities, as they pillaged and destroyed everyone indiscriminately and most brutally, showing their animal impetus against everyone. For they did not spare even the closest <of kin> (? οἰκειοτάτων), nor were they guided by any thought or principle of justice in their slaughter; but they applied themselves to turning their own country into a “Mysian wasteland,” as the saying has it. For their former sense of equity and justice had turned upside down; and yet it was the observance of these very qualities which in the past led them to great victories, and made whole cities and peoples submit to them voluntarily. Now, however, the opposite, as it were, <occurred>: they acted toward their subjects with injustice which was beyond all measure. Instead of taking care of the subject cities and administering them justly and to their advantage, they decided to enslave and destroy them. The subject populations complained against their rulers (? σχετλίζοντες κατὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων), and clearly proved that they had committed no transgression; nevertheless, they were not able to escape death. For it seemed that an evil impulse (? φορά) came about in such a fashion as to engulf the affairs of these people and confound them most dreadfully, as if a most unusual and dire accident <had happened> or a gulf <had opened under them>. Indeed, more than ten cities were made empty of inhabitants, and not less than five hundred villages were laid utterly waste. In short, areas neighboring and lying close to us turned out to be devastated as if by a storm, and innocent

people, protected by oaths (? προβληθέντες ἐπ' ὁμωσίᾳ), fell victim to sword-holding hands.

Such a calamity which had destroyed everyone and befell our unhappy neighbors, ill fortune did finally bring to the area under my own rule as well; I had suspected <its coming>, and had taken great care that it should not befall us unexpectedly and cause us harm by its surreptitious and sudden <arrival>. When the danger did clearly come, and when it was patently recognized by all that our very lives were at stake, I was able to repulse the calamity on that particular occasion, using as much judgment as I could, even if I exposed myself to well-nigh mortal dangers. From then on, we waged an all-out (ἀκηρυκτὴ) war with the barbarians, during which they held no commerce with us (although I offered them truce on numerous occasions); rather, all our encounters resulted in armed clashes. And the war started at the very approach of winter; for the sun was no <longer> far from . . . The barbarians, having mustered considerable forces, invaded our territory both with cavalry and with foot soldiers, convinced that they would take us over (? παραλήψεσθαι ἡμᾶς) at the very first war cry, on account both of the weakness of the wall and of our own cowardice. This was not an unreasonable expectation on their part, since we were dwelling in a town razed to the ground and making our sallies (προσβολάς) as if from a village rather than from a town. For prior to this event the land had been laid waste and made into a desert by the barbarians, who tore the walls down to their very foundations, and I was the first to have thought of inhabiting (providing with settlers?) the Klimata. Accordingly, as the first task I had a keep built near the town from the available material, <considering> that from there (ἐκ τούτου; afterwards?) it would be easy to settle the remaining part of the town.

FRAGMENT 3

[Leo Diaconus, pp. 258B–259A, Paris ed., = pp. 503–504, Bonn]

And the keep had been very speedily rebuilt and girded with a moat; and at the same time as this . . . the war began. <Our> keep was divided into sections according to clans (κατὰ συγγενείας), and they deposited their necessities there; what was not indispensable was stored outside, in the remaining area (περίβολον; within the circuit wall?) of the town. For by then the whole town was inhabited, and the keep had been readied to save us in supreme danger. And the barbarians, having suffered heavy losses and having been put to shame, retreated with the approach of night, waiting for the dawn (? φυλάξαντες τὸ περίορθρον). As for me, I led out my troops at sunrise, spoiling for the fight (πολεμησείων). At that time, I had slightly over a hundred horse at my disposal, and over three hundred slingers and archers. As the barbarians were nowhere to be seen, I attended to things appropriate for the occasion: I had the old walls reerected and drilled my troops in preparing themselves for battle. And I was sending couriers to allies (? πρὸς τοὺς ἡμῖν προσέχοντας) and summoning them to me in

order to hold council (?) about the general situation. They arrived from every direction, and a council (ἐκκλησία) of notables was held. It would take too much space if I wanted to recount in detailed sequence what I said on that occasion: which rulers they should adhere to, to which <rulers> they should flock and which advantage they should attempt to obtain from them, and what should be done, and all the other things which I said at that time and which I value exceedingly highly. But they, either because they had never <before> enjoyed imperial benevolence and were not attached to the more refined Hellenic way of life (Ἑλληνικωτέρων τρόπων), but rather were accustomed to a way of life of their own, or because they were neighbors of the emperor (βασιλεύοντα) who ruled to the north of the Danube, and who (?) had large troops at his disposal and boasted military power, and because they did not differ in their own customs from those of those people, decided to conclude with them (ἐκείνων; read ἐκείνῳ?) a treaty of submission, and unanimously voted that I do the same. And I set out so that our cause be not lost, and was received by him in the most propitious circumstances imaginable. I expounded the whole case to him in terms as succinct as possible; he viewed the matter as being of utmost importance and, right away and very readily, he invested me with the full rule over the Klimata, and added a whole satrapy (σατραπείαν ὅλην) to boot; moreover, he granted me considerable yearly income in his own territory.

II

If we disregard a free Russian translation of the Fragments which appeared in 1820,⁴ a mere mention of them as noteworthy made in 1846,⁵ and a page or two, teeming with inexactitudes, devoted to them in 1848 and 1855,⁶ our text remained unexploited until 1862, when the renowned anti-Normanist Gedeonov treated it in the fifth section of his *Studies on the Varangian Question* and assigned it to the time of Prince Svjatoslav (d. 972 or 973).⁷ Since Gedeonov's study, the Hase Fragments have given rise to a considerable volume of scholarly literature, an astonishing fact in view of the brevity of the Greek text, which amounts to slightly less than five in-folio columns of the Paris edition, or to four full pages of the Bonn Corpus. This volume of literature is easier to explain, however, if one considers the rarity of narrative sources pertaining to Russia's earliest history,

⁴ D. P. Popov, *Istorija L'va D'jakona Kalojskogo i drugie sočinenija vizantijskix pisatelej* (St. Petersburg, 1820), esp. 192–97. Popov's book, which I was able to inspect in the Lenin Library, is a straight translation of Hase's preface, edition, and (abbreviated) notes, made at the suggestion, and with the financial help, of Count Rumjancev; cf., e.g., the Count's letter to Academician Krug of December 15, 1819, Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A. 6.4, letter no. 65.

⁵ A. Starčevskij, "O zaslugax Rumjanceva okazannyx otečestvennoj istorii," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščenija*, 49 (1846), pt. V, 33–34.

⁶ V. V. Këne [= B. V. von Köhne], *Izsledovanija ob istorii i drevnostjax goroda Xersonisa Tavričeskogo* (1848), 220–22 (time: before Vladimir, during the wars waged by John Tzimiskēs with the Saracens). It was A. A. Kunik who drew von Köhne's attention to the Fragments in 1846. E. Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, I (1855), 569, identified the narrator with the governor of Kherson and dated the Fragments to 988.

⁷ S. Gedeonov, "Otryvki iz izsledovanij o varjažskom voprose," I–XII, *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk*, 1 (1862), Appendix no. 3, Sec. V, 66–70.

the passion all historians have for the study of origins, and the tantalizing promises held out by the Fragments themselves. They allude to a mysterious ruler; they speak of two (or three?) kinds of no less mysterious barbarians; they contain astronomical indications, and refer to certain place-names, unfortunately few in number, that either are known from other sources, even if it is difficult to localize them, or are quite unknown.

Thus, in the course of the last one hundred and ten years the most prominent practitioners of Russian history and Byzantinology have tried their hand at unlocking the Fragments' secret. In the past fifty years, not only several Russian scholars, but also their Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Greek colleagues have devoted studies to Hase's discovery;⁸ and few, if any, shared the philosophical resignation of the Ukrainian historian Hruševs'kyj, who declared in 1913 that he would "dwell upon the Fragments no more," in view of their "utter obscurity."⁹

Of obscurity, the Fragments offer a great deal. To begin with, it enwraps the identity of the narrator: as late as 1871 he was still called *Anonymous*. His anonymity was not complete, since the epithet *Tauricus*, given him by Academician Kunik, connected him with the Crimea; but in 1874 Kunik went a step further, declaring the *Anonymous* to have been a Byzantine official of Greek, if local, origin, and christened him *Toparcha Gothicus*.¹⁰ Under this name, or that of the Greek Toparch, he has been known in learned literature ever since, for nobody seems to have taken seriously Uspenskij's intimation that the narrator was none other than the Patrician Petronas, of the Emperor Theophilus' time.¹¹ The title Toparch, however, remains arbitrary, as it does not occur in the Fragments themselves. Moreover, Kunik's solution was contradictory, since no Byzantine official, let alone a Byzantine Greek, was likely to have been called a toparch.¹² The difficulty was sidestepped by those who considered the narrator to have been not a Greek but a Goth writing in Greek, especially since toparchs "of Gothia" in the Crimea are attested in the ninth century. This, again, corresponded to Hase's own interpretation, and tied our Gothic official to the Crimea.¹³

⁸ Modern literature dealing with the Fragments of *Toparcha Gothicus* is given in Appendix I *infra*, where individual titles are quoted in full. In subsequent footnotes, all titles listed in that Appendix appear in abbreviated form.

⁹ Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriia* . . . (as in Appendix I [b]), 464 note.

¹⁰ A. A. Kunik, "O zapiske bezymjannogo tavričeskogo (Anonymus Tauricus)," *Otčet o četyrnadcatom prisuždenii nagrad grafa Uvarova 25 sent. 1871 g. (1872)*, 106–10. For Kunik's work of 1874, cf. Appendix I (a).

¹¹ Uspenskij, "Vizantijskie . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 3–12, 28, 41. Uspenskij was aware that his hypothesis involved a drastic redating of the construction of the Khazar fortress Sarkel on the Don by Petronas: instead of 838, this fortress would have to have been built about 903, the time to which Uspenskij assigned the Fragments. For a sharp and witty rebuttal of Uspenskij, cf. V. Vasil'evskij, "O postroenii kreposti Sarkela," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščenija*, 265 (October, 1889), 273–89; 282–85 are devoted to our Fragments.

¹² Seen by Nystazopoulou, "Note . . ." (as in Appendix I [c]), 321–25. The only exception to Miss Nystazopoulou's rule appears to be 'Επιδημία Μόλων (fifteenth century), which uses τοπάρχαι in the sense of "local Byzantine governors in the Peloponnesus," cf., e.g., J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 3 (Paris, 1831), 178, 181. *Mazaris*, however, was just trying to impress the reader with a Lucianesque equivalent of ἀρχόντες τόπων.

¹³ A. A. Vasiliev (as in Appendix I [b]), 105–106; 123–24, with sources.

Unfortunately, the scene of the events is another of the Fragments' obscure points. To be sure, the events took place somewhere between the Dnieper, which the narrator crossed (but where was Borion, the otherwise unknown crossing point? at the rapids or below them? if at the rapids, why did the narrator choose such a difficult spot for the crossing? and from which bank to which was that crossing made?), and the Danube, to the north of which was the residence of the ruler whom he visited. But, if it was the Crimea, as suggested by the occurrence of the word *Klimata* in the Fragments (but were these *Klimata* a town or a region? and were they in fact the Crimean *Klimata*? might they not have been identical with Sarkel, built by Petronas for the Khazars about 838? or with *Klima Mestikon* in Thrace?), why did the narrator's party return to Maurokastron, which, as far as anybody knew for sure, was situated at the mouth of the Dniester? Consequently, the action of the Fragments has also been variously set on the Don, on the right bank of the Dniester in Bessarabia, in northern or southeastern Bulgaria, somewhere on the Danube (Paristrion?), or, south of that river, in northern Dobrudja.

The barbarians who appear in the Fragments present insoluble puzzles as well. Barbarians of one kind attacked the narrator's territory; barbarians of another kind were asked to assume a protectorate over his subjects. The attacking barbarians had treated kindly the populations under their control in the past, but turned against them at the time of the action described in the Fragments. The protecting barbarians were powerful and differed little in customs from the narrator's own subjects or allies. Were the attacking barbarians Huns, Khazars, Pečenegs, Hungarians, Black Bulgarians, Bulgarians, or Russes? And if Russes, then which: Normans, the controversial Azov Russes, or some Slavic autochthones, such as the Uličians? Were the protecting barbarians Khazars, Russes, Bulgarians, or Pečenegs? Or was there only one kind of barbarian instead of two? Were the narrator's own subjects Goths, Bulgarians, Pečenegs, or Byzantines? Each of these possibilities has been proposed and in turn rejected, and scholarly energies for a time were diverted by the struggle between the Normanists and the anti-Normanists: what to several nineteenth-century Normanists was a protectorate by Scandinavian Russes over their ethnical relatives, the Goths, was to one twentieth-century anti-Normanist a protectorate by Russian Slavs over their ethnical relatives, the Bulgarians.

The powerful and generous ruler whose empire extended to the north of the Danube has been assumed to have been of the same stock as the protecting barbarians. But of which stock? Most scholars saw him as a prince of Rus', though even here dissenting votes were cast in favor of making him the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon, a Bulgaro-Slavic princeling, a Pečeneg chieftain, even the Byzantine emperor himself. If the ruler was a prince of Rus', which one was he? To some, he was Oleg of the ninth and tenth centuries; to others, Igor, Svjatoslav, or Vladimir (Hase's own candidate) of the tenth; and one Rumanian scholar opted for as late a ruler as Jaroslav the Wise (d. 1054).

The choice of prince clearly depended on the Fragments' date, and here some hope of certitude was held out, since, at the time when the narrator's party

was caught by the winter storm near the Dnieper, the planet Saturn was in the evening phase at the beginning of Aquarius (but was it the beginning of the sign or of the constellation?). Unfortunately, the hope was vain, since Saturn is in Aquarius about every thirty years—for instance, in the years 903 (time of Oleg), 932 (time of Igor), 962 (time of Svjatoslav), 992 (time of Vladimir and the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel), 1021 and 1051 (time of Jaroslav the Wise and of the Pečeneg uprising in the Balkans)—and none of the astronomical experts summoned to assist historians could change anything in that. The most reliable basis for dating the Fragments was the editor's own remark that they were autograph notes, jotted down—perhaps in the course of the journey—by the narrator himself on (two?) empty folios of the manuscript he owned. In his edition of Leo Diaconus, Hase assigned that manuscript to the late tenth or early eleventh century.¹⁴

Finally, no agreement could be reached on the time sequence of the Fragments. Many scholars accepted Hase's suggestion that the chronological order was Fragments 2, 3, 1; others were satisfied that the sequence in which they appeared in the edition and, according to the editor, on the freestanding folios of the manuscript was also the sequence of the events which they described.

In sum, after more than a century of research on the Fragments, scholars have produced various clusters of solutions. To give two examples, one cluster for place, time, narrator's subjects, attacking barbarians, protecting barbarians, ruler of the north was: Crimea, shortly before 965, Goths, Khazars, Norman Russes, Svjatoslav;¹⁵ while another was the Danube region, 993, pro-Byzantine Bulgarians, anti-Byzantine Bulgarians, Russes, Vladimir.¹⁶ The only consensus which has been reached in the last hundred and fifty years as to the meaning of the narrator's story is that the Fragments are mysterious, enigmatic, obscure, and controversial.

In the face of such disarray, little profit can be expected from discussing the literature of the subject any longer;¹⁷ instead I shall follow the advice recently proffered by a distinguished Soviet scholar who advocates the discovery of some new evidence, for it alone, she rightly believes, can assist us in settling the dispute which has lasted for such a long time.¹⁸ The evidence I

¹⁴ Hase's index to Leo is clear on the autograph character of the Fragments, *s.vv. autographus*, Paris ed. p. 285 = p. 571, Bonn; *codex*, 291 = 578; *inediti*, 300 = 591; cf. also Hase's introductory remark to the Fragments, 254B = 496. However, Hase did vacillate on the manuscript's date; cf. his index *s.vv. inediti*, 300 = 591, and introductory remark, 254B = 496 (tenth century); *Chersonesi*, 290 = 576, *Graeci*, 299 = 589, *historiae*, 299 = 590, and marginal remark, 254C, omitted from the Bonn ed. (eleventh century); *Chersonesi*, 290 = 576, *Ister*, 303 = 594, *Russi*, 318 = 615, and introductory remark to Fragment 2, 256D = 500, marginal remark, 257C, omitted from the Bonn ed. (tenth or eleventh century).

¹⁵ Kunik, "O zapiske . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 61, 64, 90, 124.

¹⁶ Levčenko, "K voprosu . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 313, 325, 332–34.

¹⁷ The divergent views summarized above have been distilled from works quoted, directly or indirectly, in Appendix I.

¹⁸ Z. V. Udal'cova, *Sovetskoe . . .* (as in Appendix I [c]), 118. Already in 1899, Vasil'evskij confessed in a letter to Westberg: "From time to time I come upon the idea that it would not be a bad thing if one investigated the papers which Hase left after his death, and which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale," cf. Westberg, "Zapiska . . ." (as in Appendix I), 78. Had Vasil'evskij's suggestion been followed right away, the dispute concerning the Fragments might well have been settled by now.

intend to submit here has to do with one manuscript of the Fragments published by Charles-Benoît Hase, with his correspondence and with his secret Diary.

III

From the very beginning, scholarly study of the Fragments was handicapped by a piece of bad luck: when Hase published his notes to Leo Diaconus, he had to report that the manuscript in which the Fragments were originally discovered was no longer in the Bibliothèque Royale; they were found, he said, *in...codice qui fuit Bibliothecae Regiae*. Scholars wondered little about this, for it was general knowledge that between the years 1797 and 1815 hundreds of Greek manuscripts arrived in Paris and were subsequently returned to Italy and other parts of Europe, such as Vienna and Munich. The conclusion they most often drew from Hase's information was that he had copied the Fragments sometime before 1815. The fact remained, however, that the particular manuscript which contained the Fragments never turned up. Attempts, reported by Kunik, to discover its fate by writing to the Paris Library were of no avail; neither was the search undertaken later by Krumbacher.¹⁹

When I set out to find the missing manuscript some years ago, I gave myself a fair chance of success. For one thing, Hase made a number of hints about the source of the Fragments: it was a manuscript containing the letters of St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and Phalaris; it dated from the tenth or eleventh century; it was of small format. This considerably limited the number of manuscripts to be examined. Secondly, manuscripts Paris *Supplément Grec* 898–900 contain lists in Hase's own handwriting of those authors whose works were contained in manuscripts that had entered the Paris Library for a time and had been returned by 1815. From those manuscripts one had only to select collections of the letters of Basil, Gregory, and Phalaris. The sample thus obtained would exclude manuscripts from countries never conquered by Napoleon, thereby limiting the possibilities even further. Thirdly, there had to be in Paris a master list of manuscripts returned after 1815 to various European libraries. Finally, several specialized manuscript catalogues not available in Kunik's, Vasil'evskij's, Westberg's, or Krumbacher's day did exist by the 1960's; such were, in particular, the recent studies of the manuscript tradition of the correspondence of Basil the Great and of Gregory of Nazianzus.²⁰ If extant, the manuscript containing the Fragments would be listed in these studies.

It turned out that I overestimated my chances. The lists of Paris *Supplément Grec* 898–900 did yield three manuscripts—*Palatinus Graecus* 356 (Heidelberg),

¹⁹ Kunik: "O zapiske..." (as in Appendix I [a]), 66; Krumbacher: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 10 (1901), 657. In a letter written to Westberg in 1898, Krumbacher stated that he believed the search for the lost manuscript of the Fragments to be more important than the study of the source itself, cf. Westberg, *Die Fragmente...* (as in Appendix I), 13.

²⁰ Cf. especially Anders Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des Hl. Basiliius* (Lund, 1944) and two works by Paul Gallay: "Liste des manuscrits des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze," *Revue des études grecques*, 57 (1944), 106–24; and *Les manuscrits des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris, 1957), esp. 15 note 1.

Palatinus Graecus 129 (Heidelberg), and *Vaticanus Graecus* 1353—containing letters of Basil, Gregory, and Phalaris. But of these only one, *Palatinus Graecus* 356, included all three authors, and it did not meet Hase's other specifications for the source of his Fragments, since in his own estimation, it dated from the fourteenth century and was not of small format.²¹ The master list (in two volumes) of manuscripts returned from Paris after 1815 was located in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but all that remained of these volumes was their excellent Louis Philippe bindings; everything between the covers had disappeared.²² Thus, I was reduced to drawing up a list of my own, mostly on the basis of Paul Gallay's inventory of the manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus.²³ It contained twenty-four "suspects," from the Escorial, Florence, London, Madrid, Milan, Modena, Munich, Paris, Rome, Strasbourg, Venice, and Vienna.²⁴ Except for the Madrid manuscript, at present kept in Salamanca, all of them were inspected, either in the original or on microfilm, and the result was negative.

The possibility still remains—although I judge it to be a remote one—that the culprit has eluded the scholars' search and is lurking on the shelf of some library. Another possibility is simply that the manuscript has been destroyed. A distinguished expert on Hase expressed the view that Hase might have sent

²¹ Combine Paris *Supplément Grec* 898, card 73^r, and Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 899, card 363^r, for *Vaticanus Graecus* 1353; Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 898, cards 73^r and 164^v, for *Palatinus Graecus* 129 (this is the famous miscellaneous, mistakenly called the "Planudean excerpts," cf. my article, "Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta SAN*, 8,2 [1964], esp. 447–50); Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 898, cards 73^r and 164^v and *Suppl. Gr.* 899, card 363^r, for *Palatinus Gr.* 356. In Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 898, cards 222^{r-v}, 223^r and Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 900, card 532^r Hase noted that *Palatinus Gr.* 129 contains excerpts from Isocrates and Themistius. Hase made detailed descriptions of *Vaticanus Gr.* 1353 and the two *Palatini* in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 811, fols. 1^r–22^r, 151^r–52^v and 206^r–28^r, respectively. On fol. 228^r he described *Palatinus Gr.* 356 as *codex... saec. XIV compilatus*. On fol. 206^r Hase gives the manuscript's size as *in folio parvo*, which is still large when compared with "in 4." or "in 8."—terms which he used when indicating the size of other manuscripts described in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 811. In fact, *Palatinus Gr.* 356 measures approximately 26 by 18 centimeters.

²² I saw the bindings on July 11, 1960 and remember the astonishment of Mademoiselle Marie-Louise Concasty, the keeper of Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, who brought them to me herself. In 1970 even the bindings could no longer be located.

²³ See note 20 *supra*.

²⁴ *Scorialensis* Ψ–II–12 (12th c.); *Laurentiani Conventi Soppressi* 177 (11th c.), 627 (13th c.); *Laurentiani* IV,14 (10th c.), LVII,7 (11th c.), LXXXVII,16 (13th c.); *Matritensis*, *Biblioteca del Palacio Real*, 43 (olim 7) (11th c.); *Ambrosianus Gr.* H 257 inf. (= 1041 Martini-Bassi) (13th c.); *Mutinensis Gr.* III H 1 (= 229 Puntoni) (11th c.); *Monacensis Gr.* 497 (11th–12th c.); *Parisini Gr.* 506 (10th c.), 3014 (13th c.); Paris *Coislin* 237 (11th c.); Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 763 (11th c.), 1020 (11th c.); *Angelicani* C–4–14 (*Passioneus*) (11th c.); *Vaticani Gr.* 424 (13th c.), 434 (13th c.), 485 (13th c.) 712 (13th c.) 2209 (10th–11th c.); *Argentoratensis Gr.* 21 (12th–14th c.); *Marcianus Gr.* LXXIX (12th c.); *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* CXLII (11th c.). In addition I inspected *British Museum Additional*s 32643 (13th–14th c.) and 36749 (10th c.), and, of course, *Vaticanus Gr.* 1353 and the *Palatini Gr.* 129 and 356; cf. note 21 *supra*. My original net was purposefully cast too wide and it included the Escorial and Madrid, not documented among the following places of origin of foreign manuscripts which arrived in Paris between 1796 and 1809: Belgium, the *Ambrosiana*, Modena, Bologna, Monza, Verona, Venice, the *Vaticana*, parts of Pope Pius VI's private library, the *Laurentiana*, libraries of Piedmont, Turin, Munich, Salzburg, Potsdam, the Gymnasium of Elbing, Wolfenbüttel, and Vienna; cf. V.-L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (1874), 33–34. The Turin library was severely damaged by fire in 1904; however, no manuscript destroyed on that occasion corresponded to Hase's specifications; cf. Fr. Cosentini in G. Mazzatinti, A. Sorbelli, and L. Ferrari, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 28 (1922, reprinted 1952), 13–45. Finally, there remains France itself, outside of Paris. Strasbourg yielded one suspect, acquired in 1910; there is no full list of Strasbourg manuscripts which burned in the fire of 1870. But could not Hase's manuscript have belonged to a monastery in the vicinity of Paris? If it did—and was not lost after 1815—it should have been on the lists by Cavallin and Gallay.

it by ship, together with more than one hundred copies of his Leo edition, to his patron Count Rumjancev, residing in St. Petersburg. We know—or are told—that this ship, the frigate “le Mercure,” sank with its whole cargo, which, incidentally, would account for the fact that the Paris edition of Leo is now a bibliographical rarity; the manuscript of the Fragments could have met with the same fate.²⁵

According to prevailing opinion, these no longer extant Fragments were either an autograph draft of a report or autograph pages from a private diary.²⁶ Such texts are not intended for publication as literature. Thus, at first sight there was no chance of finding another copy of the Fragments in some extant Greek manuscript. Clearly, the next best thing to inspecting the missing manuscript was to examine its closest relative, the *apographon* which Hase made of the Fragments. It survives in Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, the printer’s copy of the Leo Diaconus edition, and is, in fact, written in Hase’s own hand.

IV

At present, the text of Hase’s Fragments, his translation, and his explanations appear on folios 315^r and 347^r–351^r of the printer’s copy.²⁷ Folio 315^r (fig. 1) is taken up entirely by Hase’s prefatory remark describing the manuscript from which he copied the Fragments; this remark gives two scanty references to the first two Fragments, surmises that the narrator was the manuscript’s owner, and announces the first Fragment. Folios 347^r–351^r contain the rest. These latter folios, which include all of the Greek text, seem to have been sent to the printer later than the prefatory remark on the Fragments and the notes of the remaining parts of Leo Diaconus, because folio 315^r—that of the prefatory remark—was originally numbered 218, while folio 352^r, the first one after the Fragments, bears the crossed-out number 219, has this message to the printer—“voici le reste des notes sur Léon . . .”—and begins with the note which in Leo’s printed text immediately follows upon the Fragments.

When we compare the handwritten with the printed version of Hase’s prefatory remark, we realize that he was more hesitant as to the characteristics of the

²⁵ The total edition of Leo was four hundred copies. On the one hundred and twenty-five (or one hundred and fifty) copies originally sent out to Russia and on the shipwreck, cf., e.g., Hase to Böttiger, letter of March 10, 1820, in Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . . (as in note 2 *supra*), 105; cf. also letter of November 18, 1819 by Count Rumjancev to the (later) Kievan Metropolitan Evgenij (Bolxovitinov), in *Perepiska mitropolita Kievskogo Evgenija s . . . grafom . . . Rumjancevym* . . ., I (Voronež, 1868), 23. Subsequently, Rumjancev received fifty copies of Leo, cf. Rumjancev to Evgenij, letter of August 17, 1820, *ibid.*, 34. The Lenin Library’s Rumjancev Archive still possesses five copies of that second shipment, of which I was shown four.—The supposition that Hase may have sent the manuscript containing the Fragments to Rumjancev on the ill-fated ship was made independently by the late Michael Lascaris and Dr. Arnulf Kollautz, a student of Hase’s correspondence; cf. Nystazopoulou, “Note . . .” (as in Appendix I [c]), 320; and Dr. Kollautz in personal letters of May 12, 1960 and March 16, 1971. If Hase did send his patron a manuscript which was on deposit at the Paris Library, he was guilty of irregular procedure.

²⁶ Cf., e.g., Westberg, “Zapiska . . .” (as in Appendix I), 257–58.

²⁷ For the text of the Fragments in the printer’s copy, cf. figs. 1, 3–11. The reader will be able to follow the statements of Section IV by comparing these figures with the facsimile of the Paris edition reproduced on pp. 118–123 *supra*.

original manuscript than the printed edition reveals: concerning the manuscript's date, he first wrote that it was *saec. XI*, then changed it to *X exeuntis*—no doubt a routine perplexity familiar to all paleographers. Hase also hesitated about the contents of the manuscript: he wrote *S. Basilii, Phalaridis S. Gregorii Nazianzeni epistulas varias*, and this is all we read in the printed text; in the printer's copy, however, he continued with *Isocratisque et Themistii orationes aliquot*, but crossed it out, probably desirous of not overburdening the reader with superfluous detail. More interestingly, he was not sure about the size of the manuscript: at first he wrote *ut est medi* (intending *mediae*), but then crossed out *medi* and substituted *exiguae molis*, which stands in the printed version. Finally, Hase was not quite sure as to the time when the manuscript was last in the Royal Library: he first wrote *fuit olim* (which means not only "once upon a time," but also "long ago," and is the opposite of *nuper*, "recently") *Bibliothecae Regiae*, but then crossed out *olim*, and this shortened formulation is what we read in the printed text. The last two vacillations can hardly be lapses of memory, but perhaps Hase dealt with border cases—the manuscript could have been of small to middle size or bulk and could have been in the Library as many as three years before 1818, which was neither *olim* nor *nuper*.

When it comes to Hase's views on the substance of the Fragments, it is now the printed text which reveals more hesitation than his original remarks in the printer's copy. In these remarks, Hase showed a more detailed conception of the Fragments' setting: they were clearly to be dated to the time of Vladimir the Great and the narrator was a Greek. The decision as to whether the attacking barbarians²⁸ were in fact Russians Hase left up to Academician Philip Krug, the prominent expert in early East European history and, incidentally, the intermediary between Hase and his patron Count Rumjancev. Still, in introducing the second Fragment Hase wondered why neither Vladimir nor, generally speaking, (another) "Russian king" was mentioned in the Fragments (but what of the third Fragment's ruler?), and thus implied that the Russian hypothesis was not the only one to be considered. There were indications that the barbarians may have been Pečenegs, but this, too, presented difficulties, for it was hardly possible that a Greek should have praised their equity and justice. Of all this, there is almost no trace in the printed text: in the prefatory remark, *Graecus* was replaced by the neutral *possessor*; in the introduction to the second Fragment, the innocuous phrase "may learned men, combining knowledge of those times and places with prudent judgment, consider who these people [i.e., the barbarians] may be," replaced mention of Vladimir, Russians, Pečenegs, the Greek narrator and Academician Krug in the printer's copy.²⁹

²⁸ Hase must have meant the attacking barbarians in his introduction to the second Fragment in the printer's copy, for he wrote on fol. 348^v: *Gens, quacum dux ille, quisquis est, consociationem dissolvissit scribit*.

²⁹ Compare the introduction to the second Fragment, p. 256D with Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 858, fol. 348^v (fig. 6). In transcribing two sections eliminated from the final draft of the printer's copy, I use italics; I indicate with Roman type Hase's own deletions within the passages, and I place his insertions between slashes—\/. Concerning the nationality of the barbarians (in the printer's copy they are the attacking barbarians; in the printed edition, they are the protecting barbarians), Hase originally wrote: *\qui sint/ an sint Russi, illi*; Hase's major deletion, comprising four lines of the printer's copy, can be deciphered

In thus hesitating to commit his own interpretation of the Fragments to print, Hase exercised a scholar's prudent judgment. There were, however, two more occasions on which Hase hesitated, and Paris *Supplément Grec* 858 suggests that prudence may have deserted him on both of them.

The first occasion had to do with the number of Fragments. At the beginning of the prefatory remark on folio 315^r (fig. 1), Hase first wrote *pertinet . . . commentarii fragmentum*, then changed *-et* to *-ent*, *-um* to *-a*, and continued with *duo*, to which he added *luce dignissima* above the line. Further on in the same remark he wrote *dabo haec duo fragmenta*, which he changed into *dabo fragmenta ambo*, and his *ambo*, "both," clearly shows that at that point he had only two Fragments in mind for publication. In both of these places the printed edition has only the words *pertinent . . . commentarii fragmenta* and *dabo fragmenta*, respectively; thus it leaves the number of Fragments undetermined. Since all censors do nod on occasion, the traces of Hase's original intention were not entirely eliminated from the printed text. Introducing the second Fragment in the printer's copy on folio 348^v (fig. 6), Hase first wrote *fragmentum illud . . . sequitur . . . aliud*, but changed *illud* to *prius* and *aliud* to *alterum*. *Prius* and *alterum* were left in the printed edition, although *alterum*, strictly speaking, means "second of a set of two." Moreover, in the printer's copy Hase distributed his two Fragments between two empty folios, one on each folio. This assignment of *folia duo vacua* remains in the printed edition, although the present number of Fragments is three, and the third Fragment is said to have stood *in folio alio* (cf. fig. 9), thus, on a third one, not accounted for in Hase's prefatory remark.³⁰

These inconsistencies aside, Paris *Supplément Grec* 858 itself leaves no doubt that the number of Fragments which Hase originally intended to publish—and had originally discovered—was two. Folio 351^r (cf. fig. 11) contains Hase's closing remark on the Fragments as a whole (*desinit hic praeclarum illud . . . fragmentum*), in which he regrets that the complete work of the narrator has not come down to us, hopes that further researches among unpublished manuscripts contained in "several" (or, after correction, "other") libraries will throw new light on Russian history, and is confident that the liberality of Count Rumjancev will make discoveries possible. However, these spirited closing remarks appear on folio 351^r, not under the *third* and final Fragment, but under the final words of the *second* one, πόλιν οικισθήσεσθαι, translated by Hase in a parallel column as *<ci>vitatem instaurari posse*. The third Fragment is an insertion; it is prefaced by the words *sequuntur in folio alio abrupta illa, quae*

as follows: *\eorumque in primis/ inter quos Philippum \s/ Krugum primario loco esse puto; miror tamen \nec/ nec Vladimirim Magnum, ad cuius tempora epistolam \facile referas/ referri possit, neque omnino alium Russorum regem verbo commemorari: Ad Patzinacos autem Gentem illam septentrionem versus ab Istro habitare suadent quae \leguntur/ continuo post in ora Noa* [that is, in note "a" in the lower left margin of fol. 348^v, which runs as follows: *\hic scripta \um/ erant \est hic et/ posterius inductum: Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὰ βόρεια τοῦ Ἰστροῦ*. Remarkably enough, Hase makes no reference to the occurrence of the same phrase in the main text of the *third* Fragment] *eaque in Patzinacos cadere possunt, quorum tamen miram [?] aequitatem et iustitiam unquam laudari \a Graeco/ potuisse, ut fit. . .*

³⁰ Westberg perceived this contradiction, but did not know what to make of it. Cf. "Zapiska . . ." (as in Appendix I), 258.

superioribus subjungenda esse autumo, and occurs on the previous folio, 350^r–350^v (cf. figs. 9 and 10). The top of the recto of that folio contains the following instruction to the printer concerning the third Fragment: “à insérer à la page 258B après les mots *civitatem instaurari posse*.” Page 258B is that page of the Paris edition of Leo on which we read the end of the *second* Fragment today; and *civitatem instaurari posse* are, as we just learned, the last words of Hase’s Latin version of that second Fragment. The bottom of folio 350^v (i.e., the end of the third Fragment in Paris *Supplément Grec* 858) displays the following message, also for the printer: “Ici suit le texte déjà imprimé,” meaning the closing remarks to the Fragments as a whole. This last message, together with the reference to page 258B, unmistakably shows that Hase inserted his third Fragment when the previous two and the closing remark to the whole had already been printed. At that stage in the printing of the notes to Leo, Hase did not know—or had forgotten—that the third Fragment existed.

The reader of the printed text may doubt this conclusion, since in the introduction to the second Fragment, as it stands in the edition of 1819, Hase does refer to the <*Gens, cui dux . . .*> *oppidum sibi commissum tradiderit*, and this act of “handing over” to the *protecting* barbarians is in fact described in the third Fragment. Here again, Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, folio 348^v (fig. 6), clarifies the matter: the words *oppidum . . . tradiderit* are a later change made on proofs; the printer’s copy does not have them. It says, as we have already seen,³¹ *consociationem dissolvissse scribit* instead, and thus merely alludes to the *attacking* barbarians and to the beginning of the *second* Fragment. By the time Hase wrote the introduction to the second Fragment in the printer’s copy, he seems not yet to have suspected that his third Fragment would reveal the existence of the protecting barbarians or, for that matter, of the ruler holding sway to the north of the Danube.

Hase, then, must have discovered the third Fragment or found it in his papers at the last moment, when the notes to Leo were already being printed. In order to establish the point at which his find occurred, we must determine when the printing of the notes to Leo took place.

Correspondence between Hase, his former teacher Böttiger, and his patron Count Rumjancev helps to answer this query. The printing of the notes started in all probability *after* April 3, 1816, for Hase’s letter to Böttiger written under that dateline stated that Leo Diaconus would now be “really” published. An advance of three thousand francs extended to Hase by Count Rumjancev on the strength of a recommendation by Professor Krug and other support which he would receive from the French Ministry of the Interior would enable him to cover the cost of printing Leo in the Royal Printing House. The whole work, Hase hoped, would appear toward the end of the year. The notes to the work contained many excerpts from “our *inedita*.”³²

³¹ In note 28 *supra*.

³² I used the full text of Hase’s letter to Böttiger, kindly lent to me by Dr. Arnulf Kollautz; for an excerpt from it, cf. Kollautz, “Jacob . . .” (as in note 2 *supra*), 289.—It is difficult to determine when the printing of Leo’s *text* began. In his letter to Rumjancev dated February 16, 1815 (Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder Fond 255.18.38), Hase wrote: “L’impression de Léon commence cette semaine.”

The notes to Leo were being printed by July 7, 1816. On that day Hase wrote Rumjancev: "on s'occupe maintenant de l'impression des notes, et l'on m'assure qu'avant la fin de l'année tout sera terminé."³³ Thus, the third Fragment was discovered by Hase in the manuscript—or rediscovered by him among his earlier notes—sometime in 1816 at the earliest. However, the same letter suggests with high probability that not only this discovery, but the discovery of the first two Fragments as well occurred *after* July 7, 1816.

Hase's letter is a reply to a message sent by Count Rumjancev to "Mr. Haser [sic] à Paris," of which we possess only a draft. The draft, in the Count's own hand, is undated, but, as Hase answered it "forthwith," it is clear that Rumjancev's clean copy was sent to Paris a month or so before July 1816.³⁴ The Count, passionately interested in the study of the origins of Russian Christianity and in the location of the city of Surož in the Crimea, appealed for help to the indefatigable student of *inedita*: "... je vous invite très instamment Monsieur," he wrote, "à rechercher parmi les manuscrits inédits des auteurs Bisantins [sic] ceux dans lesquels peuvent être consignés quelques faits relatifs à l'Histoire de ma Patrie, ce sera me rendre un service essentiel, et je ne demande pas mieux que de le reconoitre."

"Reconoitre" meant money, and all biographers of Hase dwell on his weakness for gold. Yet, in his reply Hase had to disappoint the Count. He did submit to him a short memorandum about Surož, based on Le Quien and Banduri, among other authorities, in which he identified that city with Sarat and Sudak, both of which he located in the Crimea; otherwise he had only this to say: "Réduit par conséquent aux auteurs Grecs je m'estimerois heureux toutes les fois quand dans ceux-ci et dans le nombre de notes historiques et géographiques que j'ai recueillies en examinant les ouvrages inédits de notre Bibliothèque, il se trouvera quelques détails qui peuvent aider les recherches de V. E."

"Je n'ai point voulu retarder l'envoi de ma petite dissertation [This is the memorandum on Surož contained in the first part of the letter], mais j'espère que dans une quinzaine de jours je pourrais vous faire parvenir la totalité des épreuves de Léon, dont le tirage est achevé [There follows the sentence, already quoted, announcing that the notes to Leo were still being printed.]. Il me tarde de faire connaître à l'Europe savante combien je suis pénétré des sentiments de

If Rumjancev subscribed to the edition for one thousand rubles, then, Hase announced optimistically, "rien ne s'opposera à ce que l'ouvrage ne soit terminé et mis en vente vers le mois de septembre prochain," i.e., September 1815. In the Preface to Leo (Paris ed., p. VI = p. XVII, Bonn) Hase stated that the printing of Leo as a whole had lasted for two years. Thus, it must have begun in 1816 at the earliest.

³³ Hase to Rumjancev, Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A.7.12, letter no. 9, p. 8. Cf. Appendix II B and fig. 22.

³⁴ Draft: Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder Fond 255.5.34, Letter no. 9, dated "[1813?]" by the librarians. In the draft, Rumjancev queried Hase on the so-called Anonymous Banduri on the conversion of the Russes (in *Colbertinus* 4432), on Lives of St. Ignatius, on the baptism of Vladimir the Great, on Surož (which he believed to be in the Crimea or on the Taman' peninsula), on the Church of Gothia, and on ecclesiastical lists of the eighth century. In the letter of July 7, 1816, Hase gave information on ecclesiastical lists, on Lives of St. Ignatius, on Anonymous Banduri (*Colbertinus* 4432, "now" no. 3025), and on Surož. The quotation which follows in my text is on p. 1 of Rumjancev's draft. Cf. Appendix II A and fig. 13.

reconnaissance et de respect avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être Monseigneur de votre Excellence le très humble et très obéissant serviteur C. B. Hase."³⁵

Unless Hase was withholding his discovery of the Fragments or had forgotten it, by July 7, 1816 he possessed no knowledge of any details contained either in an unpublished manuscript or in historical and geographical notes which he had previously collected that were related to any facts concerning the history of Russia.³⁶ From this letter we may conclude at least two things: first, that by July 7, 1816, Hase was actively engaged in historical research on the Crimea and used Banduri and Le Quien;³⁷ second, and most important, that by July 7, 1816, Hase was still unaware of the Fragments. Consequently, he promised only that he would be happy to communicate any text of this kind to the Count if he were to find one like it someday.

By a stroke of luck, Hase did subsequently find our Fragments, and the find occurred in two stages: he sent two Fragments to the printer first—this he did after June 10, 1817³⁸—and was later able to insert the third into the proofs of the notes to Leo. Hase's closing remarks, put in the printed edition at the end of the last Fragment but written before its discovery, praised Rumjancev's efforts to enrich *historiam patriae*; just possibly, this was an echo of that part of the Count's letter in which he mentioned "l'Histoire de ma Patrie." Hase's stroke of luck, postdating July 1816, perhaps even June 1817, occurred either before May 1818, since on May 1, 1818, Rumjancev announced to Academician Krug his wishes concerning the distribution of copies of Leo "as soon as Mr. Hase will have sent them to me," or at least before October 10, 1818, when Rumjancev could pass the following good news to Krug: "je viens de recevoir je ne sais par qui un seul exemplaire [sic] de Léon le Diacre auquel il manque sa préface. Mr. Hase [sic] me mande que . . . il n'obtiendra des presses l'ouvrage complet qu'à la fin de l'année."³⁹

Here we have a serious puzzlement. By Hase's own statement, repeated twice in his Preface, the manuscripts appropriated during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars left, or were about to leave, the Paris Library in 1815; and we know from elsewhere that the earliest restitution of manuscripts appropriated during the Revolution and the Empire (the ones from Vienna) occurred on

³⁵ Hase to Rumjancev, 7–8. Cf. Appendix II B and figs. 21–22.

³⁶ Beyond, that is, the information furnished about Surož by the otherwise unknown writer "Maxime Catélianus," of Hase's memorandum, cf. pp. 170–71 *infra*.

³⁷ Hase continued to work for the Count on the localization of Surož and the geography of the Crimea well into the year 1817: Rumjancev to Krug, letter of September 10, 1817 (Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A.6.2, no. 25): "... je ne puis pas vous dire assez l'extreme satisfaction que m'a fait éprouver la très belle lettre de M. Hase et ses annexes. . . la petite carte de la Crimée est très curieuse, elle me fait perdre mon procès Monsieur et vous fait gagner le votre en déterminant si bien la place de Soldaia. . . je voudrai [sic] bien que toute la carte fut gravée, veuillez en écrire à M. Hase." Hase's map may have been the result of Krug's inquiry: cf. Krug to Hase (?), letter of January 14, 1817 (Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A.8.19, no. 9), concerning the geographical treatise by "the monk Bacon," and various place names, e.g., *Castella Gothorum* near Kherson. Cf. also note 165 *infra*.

³⁸ Cf. Hase's note to the printer in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 858, fol. 249^r: "J'enverrai la suite après-demain, Jeudi. Ce mardi 10 Juin." Tuesday, June 10 gives the year 1817. Fol. 249^r contained the commentary to Leo, p. 71D. The Fragments form the commentary to p. 108C.

³⁹ Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folders R.A.6.3, no. 46 and R.A.6.4, no. 61. However, Leo was late in arriving and this caused the Count a great deal of distress; cf. the complaints by Rumjancev to Krug, letters of July 16 and August 2, 1818, quoted in part in note 166 *infra*.

September 21, 1814 and the latest (the ones from Bologna and the Vatican) on October 23, 1815.⁴⁰ Consequently, the manuscript in which Hase discovered the Fragments was in all probability no longer there after July 1816. How could Hase have copied the Fragments from an original which had already been removed? Of course the manuscript could have remained in Paris for a while, upon Hase's own request, and Hase, who in his Preface gratefully acknowledged the prolonged stay of one such manuscript (this time with indication of its call number),⁴¹ may have forgotten or neglected to mention the manuscript source of his Fragments in the same connection. If so, this manuscript must have remained in the Royal Library until shortly before the appearance of the advance copy of Leo's edition in the second half of the year 1818. Here, however, comes another serious puzzlement. If the manuscript did remain behind for some time—say, until 1817—why did Hase first state in the printer's copy (which cannot be later than 1818) that it had been in the Royal Library *olim*, "quite a time ago," rather than say, *nuper*, "recently"?⁴² And why did he hesitate in the printer's copy about the size and contents of a manuscript which presumably he was able to inspect at the time of writing his entry on the Fragments?

We have, then, two choices. Either we must assume that Hase wrote that entry from his own notes, made sometime between 1802 (when he began working on Leo's edition)⁴³ and 1815 (when the manuscript of the Fragments in all probability left Paris), had forgotten about the existence of these notes on July 7, 1816 and forgot, even after that date, that he had copied three rather than two Fragments, but in the last moment was able to furnish the printer with the mislaid third Fragment (which, incidentally, is a logical and complete continuation of the second); or else we must look for another explanation.

⁴⁰ Hase's Preface: Paris ed., pp. XII and XVII = pp. XXIV and XXVII–XXVIII, Bonn; for precise dates, cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet* . . . (as in note 24 *supra*), 35–36.

⁴¹ Paris ed., p. XVII = pp. XXVII–XXVIII, Bonn. The manuscript in question was *Vaticanus Gr.* 163; at Hase's request, it was not among the various objects which *repentino anni 1815. tempore* . . . *Parisios olim convecta undique repeterentur*. Thus *olim* refers to the arrival in Paris of various manuscripts from abroad.

⁴² Especially since he did use the very word *nuper* in his Preface when referring to information he had drawn from manuscripts which had left Paris in 1815. Cf. Paris ed., p. XVII = p. XXIII, Bonn: *cum plurima essent nuper in Biblioteca Regia, multa supersint ad hanc diem*.

⁴³ Hase to Böttiger, letter of July 27, 1802: this winter, Hase intends to work on Leo Diaconus. Böttiger to Hase, letter of August 14, 1802: asks for more details on Leo, invites Hase to write a piece on him, to be published in the *Merkur*. Hase to Böttiger, letter of 17 Messidor X (= 1802): Leo Diaconus is on Hase's program for the winter. References to authors who mentioned or worked on Leo: Fabricius, Du Cange, Combefis, de Pages, Gibbon. The edition of Leo would be dedicated to Böttiger. Hase has already copied a large part of Leo's first book. Hase to Böttiger, letter of 7 Nivose XI (= December 28, 1802): except for the last two books, Leo has been copied and translated into Latin. In all likelihood, the work will be printed in the Paris Corpus. Hase has collected, read and copied in part material from more than twelve manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale for his notes to Leo; list of the authors and texts excerpted (no mention of the Fragments). I am indebted for knowledge of this correspondence to Dr. Kollautz, who kindly provided me with the relevant typescripts. Cf. also Hase to Fries, December 28, 1802: "Ich habe den unglücklichen Gedanken gehabt, mich mit der Herausgabe zweier byzantinischen Autoren zu befassen, die ich im Mssc. auf der NB vorfand . . . Die Arbeit wird mir unglaublich lästig . . . ich bin indessen schon zu weit gegangen . . ." One of the two authors must have been Leo. For the text of the letter, cf. Kollautz, "Jacob . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 287.

The second occasion on which prudence may have deserted Hase has to do with the way in which certain parts of the Fragments' text are treated in the printer's copy. What follows will be technical, but indispensable for our line of reasoning.

Folio 347^v, lines 3–4, of Paris *Supplément Grec* 858 (cf. fig. 4) contains the passage of the first Fragment in which the narrator and his party cross the Dnieper and arrive at the locality Borion. There, Hase first wrote κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γενομένοι τήν, left a third of the next line empty, and continued with πρὸς εὐωχίαν. Subsequently, he crossed out τὴν πόλιν, "city," wrote κώμην, "village," above the line and filled the empty space with the word Βοριών. Since, however, Borion is a short word, an appreciable blank remained between that insertion and the following words πρὸς εὐωχίαν.

Hase himself provided a plausible, if indirect, explanation for the subsequent insertion of a proper name into his copy of the first Fragment: the script of the original manuscript, he pointed out, was intricate.⁴⁴ It could be argued, therefore, that at first reading he experienced difficulty in deciphering the name of the locality on the Dnieper—especially since this locality was otherwise unattested—and left a blank in his copy; this blank he filled on second reading. However, Hase's correction of τὴν πόλιν to κώμην is less easy to explain. Changes of this kind are more likely to have been made by the author than by the copyist of a Greek text. This is because πόλις, "town, city," and κώμη, "village," while they belong to the same semantic category, do not look much alike in writing, not even in intricate minuscule script.

More noteworthy still is Hase's Latin translation of our passage on folio 347^v. He first wrote *cum in oppidum Baxam venissemus*, without leaving any blank space between *oppidum* and *venissemus* or hesitating as to the spelling of "Baxa." Subsequently, he crossed out *oppidum Baxam*, "town of Baxa," and wrote *vicum Borion*, "village of Borion," above the line. The following question arises: how did Hase know that the locality was called *Baxa* if he was translating (either directly from the original manuscript, or from a transcript made of it by himself and set in the parallel column in the printer's copy) a Greek passage in which he could not at first decipher that locality's name?

Folio 347^v offers one more peculiarity: in lines 17–18, the Latin translation had the words *quod iam prius fieri oportebat*. Hase crossed these words out, and with good reason, for no Greek text corresponds to them in the parallel column.

In the third Fragment, on folio 350^r (fig. 9), Hase wrote a rather long passage, starting with τεῖχος μὲν τὸ παλαιόν and ending with περὶ τῶν ὄλων, at the bottom of the column, and indicated by the reference sign ♀ that the passage should be inserted into the main text between ἐξηρτύετο and Ἀφιγμένων. It is not quite obvious how a copyist could have omitted so many words from his original since no *homoeoteleuton* is involved. Moreover, there is no discontinuity in narrative between the words ἐξηρτύετο and Ἀφιγμένων. To top it all off, in a note which started with the words *hic primo leguntur illa*, Hase told the reader that

⁴⁴ Introductory remark to Fragment 2: *eadem intricatissima manu*, Paris ed., p. 256D = p. 500, Bonn; cf. *litteris minutis perplexisque admodum*, 254B = 496.

at the point of the original manuscript to which the note itself referred (*hic* = “here”) he read some expunged words, which were followed (*inde*) by the word Ἀφηγμένων. In other words, Hase saw no *non*-expunged text whatsoever between the word to which his note was appended and Ἀφηγμένων. To the reader of the printed text, the annotated word is ὅλων —the end of the inserted passage— but originally it was ἐξηρτύετο, the last word before the insertion. For it is to ἐξηρτύετο that Hase first attached our note, marked by an exponential “d” in the printer’s copy. Only later did he change “d” to “e” and assign the note to the words περὶ τῶν ὅλων.⁴⁵ It follows that initially Hase took a close look at the very spot of the original manuscript which must have contained the twenty-nine words of the inserted passage and did not see them at all.

The printer’s copy of the third Fragment exhibits the following three corrections: on folio 350^r, line 14, πλείονες was changed to πλείους; on folio 350^v, line 9, ἀποδιαφέρεσθαι to ἀποδιαφέροντες; and on the same folio, line 12, ξυν was crossed out and followed by ἐπεψηφίσαντο. These corrections may merely reflect vacillations of Hase the copyist, faced with the task of resolving intricately written abbreviations. If so, Hase disappoints us as a professor of palaeography (a position to which he was appointed in late 1815 or 1816),⁴⁶ for in manuscripts of the tenth to eleventh century there is no abbreviation for -νες, only for -ους; none for -σθαι or -τες, only for -αι or -ες; none for συν- (let alone for the Attic ξυν-), only for ἐπι-.

Finally, some differences in wording and word sequence exist between the Greek text of Paris *Supplément Grec* 858 [S] and the printed edition [P]. Thus: παρημέψαμεν σταδίου (S, fol. 348^r, line 6): σταδίου παρημέψαμεν (P, p. 255D); ἄλλων πρὸ ἡμῶν (S, *ibid.*, line 7): πρὸ ἡμῶν ἄλλων (P, *ibid.*); τοῖς δεινοῖς (S, *ibid.*, line 26): τοῖς τότε δεινοῖς (P, p. 256B); ὅτι (S, fol. 349^r, line 16): ὥς (P, p. 257B); ὄλεθρον (S, *ibid.*, line 2 *ab imo*): ὄλεθρον καὶ (P, p. 257C); ἀκηρυκτὶ ἡμῖν (S, fol. 349^v, line 12): ἡμῖν ἀκηρυκτὶ (P, p. 257D). These final revisions by Hase patently were made on proofs, hence in 1816 or later. But on what basis? With the help of his own notes rather than by collating these proofs with the manuscript, for by 1816 that manuscript was, in all probability, no longer in Paris. Whatever the basis for Hase’s revisions may have been, he disappoints us as a copyist, for he was negligent on at least six occasions (three of which had to do with word order) in transcribing quite a short text. By comparison, he reversed the word order only four times⁴⁷ in copying the *History* of Leo Diaconus, which occupies one hundred and seventy-four Bonn pages.

Thus, again, we have two choices. Either the *oppidum Baxa* of Hase’s Latin version goes back to his earlier reading of the Greek manuscript—a reading which was later discarded and replaced by the blank for the locality’s name on folio 347^v of Paris *Supplément Grec* 858—and Hase’s corrections of the Greek (both those which still exist in the printer’s copy and those which were made later on proofs), although barely distinguishable from stylistic changes

⁴⁵ In the printed text of the Paris ed., p. 258D, this note, already assigned to the words περὶ τῶν ὅλων, is marked by an exponential “i”; cf. p. 503, note †††, Bonn.

⁴⁶ Cf. note 133 *infra*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Panayotakis, Λέων ὁ Διάκονος... (as note 1 *supra*), p. 120.

made by an author striving for Attic elegance, are in fact traces of a copyist's conscientious labor; or, again, we should look for another explanation.

V

Until now we have been studying the external aspects and history of the only manuscript of the Fragments of *Toparcha Gothicus* which is accessible to us. We shall turn now to a scrutiny of the Fragments' internal evidence; it will serve as a countercheck to the examination of our text's material aspects. This scrutiny will proceed from lower to higher matters: from words to literary parallels, and from there, to *realia* and to the Fragments' conceptual framework.

VOCABULARY. In the five columns of the Paris edition (or on the four pages of the Bonn format), the Fragments offer at least nine oddities: five mistakes in accentuation or grammar and four *lexeis athesauristoi*. The mistakes are: (a) χιῶνος (repeated four times) instead of χιόνος; (b) τὸ ξύμβαν instead of τὸ ξυμβάν; (c) ἄμεινα, possibly intended as a plural variation for ἄμεινον, although the neuter plural of ἄμεινον is ἀμείνονα or ἀμείνω; (d) εὔναι instead of εὔναι; and (e) τελείονι (*sc.* δυνάμει), while the correct comparative is τελειοτέρῳ; this is an error, unless one wants to argue that Hase's tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript had πλείονι, which its editor misread for a non-existent word.⁴⁸

The Fragments' four *lexeis athesauristoi* are: ἀποδιαφέροντες; ἐπικλίνια, "bed-covers"; ἐπ' ὁμωσία; and προκατέσκαπτο.⁴⁹ By comparison, Leo Diaconus and Agathias of Myrine have ten *lexeis athesauristoi* and eight *hapax legomena* in the whole of their respective histories.

Hase did excerpt the Fragments in the index to his Leo edition. There he referred to them forty-one times, and on three occasions listed orthographic peculiarities of the Fragments' manuscript.⁵⁰ It is remarkable that the very man

⁴⁸ Χιῶνος, Paris ed., p. 255D = 498,6, Bonn, 256A *bis* = 498,8, 15, 256C = 498,31; τὸ ξύμβαν, 256A = 498,13–14; ἄμεινα, 256B = 498,17; εὔναι, 256B = 498,20; τελείονι, 258D, note "i" = 503, note †††; in all instances the printed text faithfully reproduces the errors of Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 858. Hase may have been aware that χιωνώδης, 255C–D, note "b" = 497, note ****, was an error, for he placed a "[sic]" after that word.—Nystazopoulou, "Note..." (as in Appendix I [c]), 326, noticed two of the Fragments' mistakes. Professor Papazoglou-Ostrogorski, who kindly drew my attention to the erroneous χιῶνος, was furthermore disturbed by the *absence* of articles in the phrases ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα διετίθεντο, 256C = 498,26, and in ἑνθροῦναι τε, 257C = 501,17. Conversely, Professor Panayotakis found the *presence* of the article in front of the "Mysian booty," τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην, 257A = 501,1, contrary to classical, Byzantine, or even modern Greek usage. Both colleagues were struck by ἄρκτου... βαρύτατον πνεύσαντος, 255B = 497,24–25, since ἄρκτος meaning "Northern wind" seems to be unattested, and βαρύτατον as well as ἄερων... βαρυτάτων ἄνωθεν ἐμπνεόντων, 256B = 498,16, remind one of *schwere Winde* rather than of anything Greek.

⁴⁹ Ἀποδιαφέροντες, Paris ed., p. 259A = p. 503,35–36, Bonn; ἐπικλίνια, 256B = 498,22; ἐπ' ὁμωσία (remarkably, it appears without iota subscript in the Paris ed., 257C = 501,18; προκατέσκαπτο, 258A = 501,38. Ed. Kurtz realized that ἀποδιαφέρω was otherwise unattested, cf. Westberg, *Die Fragmente...* (as in Appendix I), 73.

⁵⁰ *S. vv.*: *autographus*, Paris ed., p. 285 = p. 571, Bonn; *Borion*, 287 = 573; *Chersonem*, 290 = 576; *Chersonesi*, *sexies*, 290 = 576; *Clemata*, *bis* 290 = 577; *codex*, 291 = 578; *Danapris*, *ter*, 293 = 581; *fossa*, 298 = 587; *Graecorum*, *quater*, 298–299 = 588–589; *Graeci*, *bis*, 299 = 589; *historiae*, 299 = 590; *inediti*, 300 = 591; *Ister*, *bis*, 303 = 594; *Itacismi*, 303 = 594; *καταισχυνθηθέντες* 304 = 595; *Mauro-castrum*, 307 = 600; *Μυσῶν* 309 = 602; *nix*, *bis*, 311 = 606; *proverbia*, 316 = 612; *Romanzoff*, 317 = 614; *Russi*, *bis*, 318 = 614; *Saturnus*, 319 = 615; *scuta*, 319 = 616; *σκληρά* 320 = 617; *Taurica*,

who by 1818 had collected thousands of lexical items and who was soon to become a renowned lexicographer should have failed to record any of the Fragments' four *hapaxes* in the same index, although he made sure of recording there the other *lexeis athesauristoi* of his edition. They include words derived from late texts (comparable to the Fragments in date) used by Hase in the notes to Leo, such as βλύσις, which he culled from Theophylactus of Bulgaria.⁵¹ Moreover, Hase did not quote any of the Fragments' four *hapax legomena* in the reedition of Stephanus' dictionary, a work of which he was one of the editors,⁵² although unattested words, both from Leo proper and from his own notes to this author, are recorded there; such are (besides βλύσις) βλυστάνω, περινάω, πολυχέυμων, περιγειότης. They appear in the New Stephanus with explicit references to Hase's Leo, and new entries pertaining to them are in most cases followed by Hase's name.

The *hapaxes* of the Fragments spice up an otherwise monotonous fare, since the narrator repeats the same words or idioms over and over again. Δείκνυμι (especially the pluperfect ἐδέδεικτο) appears eight times, six times in the first Fragment alone, usually as an elegant variation for "was";⁵³ χαλεποῦ, χαλεπαίνων, χαλεπώτερον, and the like occur ten times, all but one in the first Fragment;⁵⁴ συναράσσειν and καταράσσειν three times, in different contexts;⁵⁵ the rare τοῦ περιέχοντος is used twice;⁵⁶ and the same is true of χεῖρας ἀνακροτεῖν, "applaud," as an expression of joy—once it is applied to the narrator's retinue who reacted in this way to the freezing of the Dnieper, once to the friendly and childlike barbarians who gave a spontaneous farewell to his party.⁵⁷ Περικλύεσθαι and ἐπικλυσθέντα appear in close vicinity, as do ἀντιποιεῖσθαι and ἀντιποιοῦμενοι, κατεσκαμμένη and προκατέσκαπτο.⁵⁸ Σχετλιάζειν κατά τινος is a remarkably rare construction, and we shall return to it again; yet it, too, occurs twice in the Fragments.⁵⁹ Πόλις and κώμη are juxtaposed or opposed on two occasions,⁶⁰ and this

322 = 620; *Wladimirus*, 324 = 622. Orthographic peculiarities of the original text of the Fragments are introduced into the index *s.v.* *Itacismi*, 303 = 594: *velut* αἰωρούμενος *et* ἑωρούμενος *permutata*, 254D = 497,9; κατασχυνθηθέντες, 304 = 595: κ. *vox nihili*, 258C = 503,17; σκληρά, 320 = 617: σ. *et* σκιερά *confusa*, 255A = 497,14.

⁵¹ Paris ed., p. 249B = p. 489,21, Bonn. The example came from the (still unpublished) commentary to Psalm 35(36):9–10.

⁵² Hase was to be the chief editor of the new *Thesaurus* by Stephanus, to be published under the auspices of Firmin Didot; cf. the title page of the first volume of the new edition, dated 1831. Although by 1833 he was no longer a central figure in the preparation of the *Thesaurus*, cf., e.g., the letter of M. J. Müller to Thiersch, in Kollautz, "Jacob..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 289, he continued the collaboration throughout his life. It is attested by the title pages of all eight volumes of Stephanus' *Thesaurus* and by new entries in the later volumes, signed with his name. He died (on March 21, 1864) while working at his desk, on which were discovered the final pages of the New Stephanus; cf. M. Guignaut, "Notice historique..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 272.

⁵³ Paris ed., p. 254D = p. 497,9, Bonn; 255A *bis* = 497, 12–13, 15; 255C, note b = 497, note ****; 255D = 498,1; 256B = 498,19; 257A = 500,42; 257B = 501,10.

⁵⁴ Paris ed., p. 254D *ter* = p. 497,3 *bis*, 9, Bonn; 255B = 497,25; 255C = 497,34; 256A *ter* = 498,7, 12, 14; 256C = 498,32; 257C = 501,14.

⁵⁵ Paris ed., p. 254C = p. 496,42–43, Bonn; 254D = 497,2; 255B = 497,25.

⁵⁶ Paris ed., p. 255C = p. 497,32, Bonn; 255D = 498,1.

⁵⁷ Paris ed., p. 255A = p. 497,17, Bonn; 255D = 498,2–3.

⁵⁸ Περικλύεσθαι, ἐπικλυσθέντα, Paris ed., p. 257B, C = p. 501,12, 17, Bonn; ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἀντιποιοῦμενοι, 258D = 503,27, 32–33; κατεσκαμμένη, προκατέσκαπτο, 258A = 501,36, 38.

⁵⁹ Paris ed., p. 256C = p. 498,28, Bonn; 257B = 501,9.

⁶⁰ Paris ed., p. 257C = p. 501,14–15, Bonn; 258A = 501,37.

peculiarity of the narrator's style reappears in Hase's own scribal hesitation between the πόλις and the κώμη Borion. Finally, the narrator reveals his habit—shared by Byzantines, but also by authors of all times who write in a language not their own—of amassing rare or precious words and *flosculi*: διόδους in the sense of “roads”; συσσίτοις; ἀποκοίτους; τοῦ περιέχοντος meaning “air”; οὐ ξυντρόφων, “unusual”; αὐτεπαγγέλτως; περίορθρον; and πολεμησείων.⁶¹ These latter two words offered Hase another chance to adduce our Fragments in the New Stephanus, since both relevant entries in that dictionary do contain additions (mostly from Byzantine authors such as Synesius, translator of Achmes, Constantine Manasses, and Thomas Magister) which are signed with his name. Yet, he made no more use of that chance than he did in the case of the Fragments' *hapaxes*.

TEXTUAL PARALLELS. Literary parallels to the Fragments used as evidence here derive exclusively from texts with which Hase was acquainted or which go back to Hase himself. This is a matter of positive knowledge, even for Aeschines, whom Hase did not quote in print.⁶²

I. The following eighteen examples, of which seventeen deal with passages and one with a cluster of words, indicate that Thucydides was foremost among the narrator's models:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 254D:
τὸ ὕδωρ...ἐπὶ μέγα ἦν ἰσχυρόν | Thucyd. II:97:4: ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ
βασιλεία ἰσχύος |
| 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 255D: οὐδὲ πάντας αὐτοὺς
ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους παρημέψαμεν | <i>Ibid.</i> , II:5:2: ἀπέχει δ' ἡ Πλάταια τῶν
Θηβῶν σταδίους ἐβδομήκοντα |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 256A: τετράπηχυς γὰρ ἡ χίων
ἐλέγετο καὶ χαλεπῶς διαβατὴ ἦν | <i>Ibid.</i> , II:5:2: ποταμὸς ἐρρῦη μέγας καὶ
οὐ ῥαδίως διαβατὸς ἦν |
| 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 256A: πολλοὶ δέ...μείζον ἦ
κατ' ἀνθρῶπινην δύναμιν τὸ ξύμβαν
οἰηθέντες· καὶ ἦν γὰρ τι τῶν οὐ ξυντρό-
φων τὸ χαλεπὸν | <i>Ibid.</i> , II:50:1: χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ
τὴν ἀνθρῶπειαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν
<sc. ἡ νόσος> ἐκάστω καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε
μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὃν ἡ τῶν ξυντρόφων
τι |
| 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 256B: τὰ γὰρ πάντα ἀνω-
φελῆ καὶ ἀνόνητά πως ἐν τοῖς τότε δεινοῖς
ἐδέδεικτο | <i>Ibid.</i> , II:47:4: πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν |

⁶¹ Διόδους, Paris ed., p. 255B = p. 497,26, Bonn; συσσίτοις, 255C = 497,29; ἀποκοίτους, 255C = 497,30; τοῦ περιέχοντος, 255C, D = 497,32, 498,1; οὐ ξυντρόφων, 256A = 498,14; αὐτεπαγγέλτως, 257B = 501,5; περίορθρον, 258C = 503,18; πολεμησείων, 258C = 503,19. Πολεμησείων occurs at least twice in Leo Diaconus, cf. 60,3 and 104,11, Bonn.—The Fragments display the same characteristics which Hase in his Preface detected in Leo and in Byzantine writers generally: elegant variation, use of pretentious instead of simple words, rare expressions, and repetitious vocabulary: cf. Paris ed., pp. VIII–IX = pp. XIX–XX, Bonn, esp. *deinde, idem vocabulum, aliquot lineis interjectis, libenter iterari*. In short, the narrator writes in a tenth-century Byzantine style as Hase understood that style.

⁶² For a quotation from Aeschines, cf. Hase's notes in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1347, fol. 111^r (soon after 1821?). (*Ibid.*, fol. 132^r, and in Leo Diaconus, p. 213B, he quoted the Pseudo-Platonic Axiochos, attributed in his time to Aeschines Socraticus.) On other texts, see pp. 174–75 *infra*.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 256C: οἱ δὲ πρόσκοποι ἐξέκαμον καὶ αὐτοί, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικηθέντες

7. Fragment 2, ed. Hase, p. 257A: ἀνατέτραπτο τὸ πρὶν αὐτοῖς ἴσον καὶ δίκαιον

8. *Ibid.*, p. 257D: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, πόλεμος ἡμῖν ἀκηρυκτὶ καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπιμίγνυντο ἔτι παρ' ἡμῖν

9. *Ibid.*, p. 258A: νομίσαντες ὡς ἅμα βοῇ παραλήψεσθαι ἡμᾶς

10. *Ibid.*, p. 258A: ὡς ἀπὸ κώμης προσβολὰς ποιουμένων

11. Fragment 3, ed. Hase, p. 258C: βάρβαροι...ἀπέησαν πρὸς νύκτα, φυλάξαντες τὸ περίορθρον

12. *Ibid.*, p. 258C: τὰ τῷ καιρῷ μοι σύμφορα ἐξηρτύετο, τεῖχος μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεγείρων

13. *Ibid.*, p. 258C: διδάσκων τοὺς ἐμοὺς εὖ παρασκευάσθαι πρὸς τὰ πολέμια

14. *Ibid.*, p. 258D: ἃ μὲν εἶπον ἐγὼ τότε, καὶ ὡς οἶων δεσποτῶν μᾶλλον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι προσήκει, καὶ πρὸς οἷους ἐλθόντας τίνα ὠφέλειαν πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐρίσκειν, καὶ τί ποιητέον ἐστί, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, ὅσα τότε εἶπον ἐγώ...μακρὸν ἂν εἴη πάντα ἐφεξῆς λέγειν βούλεσθαι

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 258D–259A: μετὰ τοῦ στρατῷ ἰσχύειν πολλῷ καὶ δυνάμει μάχης ἐπαίρεσθαι

16. *Ibid.*, p. 259A: παραδώσειν σφᾶς ξυνέθεντο

17. *Ibid.*, p. 259A: ἐμοί...τήν...ἀρχὴν ἀσμένως πᾶσαν ἔδοτο

Ibid., II:51:5–6: καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι

Ibid., II:44:3: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἴσον [in the Bredenkamp edition, Leipzig, 1799: ἴσόν] τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι

Ibid., II:1:1: ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις συμμαχῶν, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπιμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεῖ παρ' ἀλλήλους

Ibid., II:81:4: ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν

Ibid., II:18:1: προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι

Ibid., II:3:4: φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον

Ibid., II:3:3–4: ἴν' ἀντὶ τείχους ἦ, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξηρτύον ἢ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι

Ibid., I:18:3: πολεμοῦντες...εὖ παρασκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια

Ibid., II:36:4: [Pericles' Funeral Oration]: μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος, ἐάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἦλθον...καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι

Ibid., II:97:5: ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα

Ibid., II:4:7: ξυνέβησαν...παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοῦς

Ibid., VI:12:2: ἀρχεῖν ἄσμενος αἰρεθεῖς

18. Finally, the third Fragment shares with chapters ninety-six and ninety-seven of Thucydides' Second Book, chapters which occupy less than two

Teubner pages, a remarkably large cluster of the same words, regardless of the differences in contents between the two texts:

Third Fragment	Thucydides, Book Two
p. 258D τοῦ Ἰστρου	96:1: τοῦ Ἰστρου
ὁμοροὶ ὄντες	96:1: εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Γέται . . . ὁμοροὶ
αὐτονόμων	96:2: τῶν αὐτονόμων
	96:3 and 4: αὐτονόμους
κατὰ τὰ βόρεια	96:4: πρὸς βορέαν
βασιλεύοντα	97:3: βασιλεύσας
p. 259A: προσόδους	97:5: προσόδω
δυνάμει μάχης	97:5: ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης

The eighteen parallels just adduced settle the question of our text's genre: autograph or not, the Fragments are a literary work, utilizing at least one literary source; they are not travel notes jotted down hurriedly during the journey itself.⁶³ Whoever proposes the contrary must claim that the narrator carried Thucydides' text with him in his luggage rather than in his head on his trek through the steppe, and that he was influenced by the historian to the extent of covering, on one stormy day, exactly the same number of stadia—seventy—which Thucydides in his Second Book gives as the distance between Plataea and Thebes.

Although our list of Thucydidean material in the Fragments is the fullest to date, the find itself is not new: Vasil'evskij observed one of the parallels as early as 1876,⁶⁴ and Melikova pointed out several others in 1919.⁶⁵ Not many scholars, however, seem to have given an explanation for these parallels. Those who did saw in them either a reflection of the narrator's own affinity for the most tragic parts of Thucydides' *History*—which helps us little in establishing the Fragments' date—or proof of the quality of the literary education possessed by a Byzantine official of the late tenth century.⁶⁶

On superficial inspection the latter interpretation can be defended. Although the extent of the Fragments' use of Thucydides as a model seems unparalleled in Byzantine literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, Byzantine historians of other periods, from Procopius and Agathias in the sixth century to Chalcocondyles and Critobulus in the fifteenth, imitated Thucydides in their writings. Even in the middle of the tenth century, the *Suda* and Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Excerpta de Legationibus* and *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* quoted

⁶³ This was sensed by F. Uspenskij as early as 1904; cf. "F. Vestberg . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 244. Of course, Uspenskij, who argued for a ninth- or early tenth-century date for the Fragments, asserted that they were not autograph, cf. *ibid.*, 246, 248, 252, 253. That the Fragments were not a diary was also stated by Levčenko, "K voprosu . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 300–301. Levčenko, however, was aware of the Fragments' dependence on Thucydides.

⁶⁴ Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska . . ." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 164.

⁶⁵ S. V. Melikova, "Gotskij toparx i Fukidid," *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*, 6th Ser., XIII (1919), 1063–70. Melikova offers a few parallels not included in the present list.

⁶⁶ Cf. Melikova, "Gotskij . . ." (as in preceding note), 1068 and 1070; Levčenko, "K voprosu . . ." as in Appendix I [a]), 300.

from his *History*, and one Byzantine scholar established a particular recension of his text.⁶⁷

However, attributing the Fragments' Thucydidean borrowings to a Byzantine of the tenth century poses difficulties. Byzantine historians turned to Thucydides for three purposes: they used him as a source for vocabulary, as a source for *flosculi*, and—primarily—as a model in treating their own subject matter. Faced with the plagues of 558 and 1347, respectively, Procopius and Cantacuzenus turned to Thucydides' Second Book to borrow from his description of the plague of 430 B.C. Agathias helped himself to the account of the siege of Plataea in order to depict that of Onoguris. Procopius and others used Thucydidean speeches, battles, characterizations of people, debates, and letters for speeches, battles, character portraits, or debates of their own; not to speak of the appearance of Thucydides' opening words in many a Byzantine's *prooemium*. Exceptions to this practice are very rare.⁶⁸

In the Fragments, the narrator does use Thucydidean words and idioms; when it comes to content, however, his procedure is peculiar. In parallels 8–12, 14, and 16 borrowings do correspond more or less to the subject matter. However, in parallel 1 a kingdom is juxtaposed with water; in parallel 3, snowdrifts with a river; in parallel 4, a storm with the plague; and in parallel 15 the statement in the Fragments is the opposite of Thucydides'. The narrator needed Thucydides' passages for his own sentences and word clusters, regardless of their substance; he did not need them as much for stories of similar content.⁶⁹ In exploiting Thucydides, the narrator did not go out of his way: his parallels are almost entirely derived from a single book of Thucydides, the Second, and we saw that a large cluster of borrowed words comes from two of that book's chapters—ninety-six and ninety-seven.

Besides Thucydides the narrator's memory, his luggage, or his library at home appears to have contained other authors, even some who lived after the time to which Hase ascribed his manuscript. The parallels are as follows:

II. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255C:

Aeschines, *De falsa leg.*, cap. 127:

ἐμοῦ . . . τοῖς συσσίτοις εἰπόντος, ὥς οὐ δεῖ
ἀποκοίτους ἡμᾶς . . . γενέσθαι

κἂν φῶσιν ἀπόκοιτόν με τούτων! πῶποτε
τῶν συσσίτων γεγονέναι

⁶⁷ Cf. C. de Boor, *Excerpta Historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, I,2 (1903), 436–38; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1965), 102, 104, 158, 169. Hase thought that Leo Diaconus did not use Thucydides; cf. Preface, Paris ed., p. IX = p. XX, Bonn. This was an error; compare, e.g., Leo Diac., *Hist.*, 21,9–11, Bonn with Thucydides, III:82:4.

⁶⁸ A brief bibliography: H. Braun, "Procopius Caesariensis quatenus imitatus sit Thucydidem," *Acta Seminarii philologici Erlangensis*, 4 (1886), 161–221 (oldest and best); H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung*, I–II (Munich, 1899–1900); G. Franke, *Quaestiones Agathianae* [= *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, 47] (1914); J. Dräseke, "Thukydides' Pestbericht (II, 47–53) und dessen Fortleben," *Jahresbericht des deutschen philologischen Vereins*, 40 (1914), 181–89; A. Cameron, "Herodotus and Thucydides in Agathias," *BZ*, 57 (1964), 33–52; *eadem*, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 60–64.

⁶⁹ This is to say that while the narrator did what Hase held against middle-Byzantine writers—*eorum* [i.e., classical authors'] *phrases undique arreptas ad verbum transferebant in propria scripta*, cf. Preface, Paris ed., p. IX = p. XX Bonn—he did it somewhat more clumsily.

Ἀπόκοιτος is rare, and its appearance in close proximity to σύσσιτος is rarer still. The very passage of Aeschines which contains these two words appears as an additional entry *sub verbo* ἀπόκοιτος in the New Stephanus, reedited by Hase. The addition is unsigned, but we know of other unsigned additions to the New Stephanus which Hase presumably made himself, since they are drawn from his edition of Leo Diaconus.⁷⁰

III. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255C–D, combined with the words of note “b”: καὶ πρὸς [τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν] αὐτὸν ἐκείνον μετατρεπομένου τοῦ περιέχοντος, [φύσει ψυχρότατος καὶ χιωνώδης (sic) δοκῶν,] Κρόνου δὲ καλουμένου. καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχε περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτὸς διῶν Ὑδροχόου

Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica*, p. 39,12–17, eds. Boll-Boer: τῷ μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου ψυκτικῷ ὄντι μᾶλλον τὴν φύσιν... ἐδόθη ὁ τε Αἰγόκερος καὶ ὁ Ὑδροχόος, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δωδεκαμόρια ψυχρὰ καὶ χειμερινὰ τυγχάνειν
Ibid., p. 152, 22–23: ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ τῷ μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου πρὸς τὸ ψυχρὸν συνοικεῖσθαι

IV. 1. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, pp. 254D–255A: τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπανταχῇ πέπηκτο...ὡς καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἵπποις ἀφόβως ἵέναι...οὐ γὰρ ὕδασιν οὕτω νάουσιν ἐφκει τὰ ρεύματα, ἀλλ’ ὄρη σκληρὰ [σκιερὰ] τινά...ἐδέδεικτο...προσίμεν, κατὰ πέλαγος ἵππασάμενοι. ἀκωλύτως δὲ διαβάντες...

Agathias, *Hist.*, 5:11:6 = ed. Keydell, p. 177,21–28: τὰ μὲν ρεῖθρα...ἐπήγνυτο εἰς βάθος καὶ ἦσαν ἤδη σκληρὰ καὶ βάσιμα καὶ ἱππήλατα...Ζαβεργὰν δέ...τὰς δῖνας εὐκολώτατα διαβαίνει...καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτῷ κωλύματος γιγνομένου...Σκυθίαν παραμειψάμενος...προσέβαλλεν.

Agathias’ description of the crossing of the Danube by Zabergan’s Kutrigur forces in March 559 may, but need not, have influenced the narrator’s picture of the frozen Dnieper. The case is less ambiguous with the next set of passages:

2. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256D: ἐσχετλίασεν ἄλλος κατὰ τῶν ἐσομένων

Agathias, *Hist.*, 4:11:1 = ed. Keydell, p. 136,27–28: τῷ ἄχθεσθαι κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν

3. Fragment 2, ed. Hase, p. 257B: σχετλιάζοντες τε κατὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων

The Fragments’ construction σχετλιάζειν κατὰ τινος is absent from dictionaries.⁷¹ Agathias provides the closest parallel to this *unicum* (this parallel includes the people against whom the dissatisfaction is directed). In turn, Agathias’ own construction, ἄχθεσθαι κατὰ τινος, seems unique or at the very least quite rare: I was not able to find it elsewhere, and Keydell included it as noteworthy in his succinct *Index Graecitatis*. Consequently, unless we assume independent in-

⁷⁰ For entries from Leo in the New Stephanus (sixty of them), cf. Panayotakis, *Λέων ὁ Διάκωνος*... (as in note 1 *supra*), 127 note 5. Of these, only four are signed with Hase’s name; however, in nearly one-half of the total his name is mentioned.

⁷¹ Leo Diaconus has σχετλιάσας twice, once with ἐπί and a dative, once with an accusative, cf. *Hist.*, 106,17, 139,23, Bonn.

vention, we may claim with some probability that Agathias' passage did inspire our narrator.

4. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256B:
οὐδ' ἀναπαύσασθαι πρὸς ἀκαρῆ⁷² χώραν
[χρόνον] ἡμῖν ἢ χιῶν ἐνεδίδου

Agathias, *Hist.*, 4:18:6 = ed. Keydell, pp. 145,31–146,1: ὥσπερ ἐκ συν-
θήματος ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνου τοῦ συνοί-
σοντος ἐστοχασμένοι

Ibid., 2:9:6 = ed. Keydell, p. 52,11–
12: οὐδὲ τοῦ... ἀμφιγνοῆσαι τὰ ποιού-
μενα χώρα ἐγίγνετο

Ibid., 2:21:4 = ed. Keydell, p. 68,6–
7: πλὴν οὐ γεγένηται χώρα τῷ
Θεοδώρῳ

Ibid., 4:14:5 = ed. Keydell, p. 140,
24: χώραν παρέσχον ἐκείνῳ

5. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256C:
τὸ δὲ χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι καὶ διὰ πολε-
μίας ἐπορευόμεθα γῆς

Agathias, *Hist.*, 3:9:13 = ed. Keydell, p. 95,7–8: ἀλλὰ πρὸς Λάλους παρα-
ταττόμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πολεμίᾳ γῇ

The narrator also shares with Agathias a number of words and forms, such as αὐτεπαγγέλτως, ἀνατέτραπται, ἀνακωχή, διαφανῶς, παραμείβομαι, μηδὲν ἡδικοῦτας, περίορθρον, βαρβαρικώτερον (cf. the Fragments' 'Ἑλληνικωτέρων τρόπων, p. 258D), and Vasil'evskij pointed out some of them.⁷³ True, most of those words occur in Thucydides as well, and it is the latter who may have determined the narrator's choice. However, since the rare αὐτεπαγγέλτως is absent from Thucydides, I should like to attribute it to Agathias' influence.

V. 1. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255A:
ὄθεν ἡμῖν τὸ κατηφές εἰς χαρὰν μετα-
βέβλητο

Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, ed. Hase, p. 79A,
Paris ed. = p. 128,1–2, Bonn: τῆς δὲ
χειμερινῆς κατηφείας εἰς ἑαρινὴν αἰθρίαν
μεταβαλούσης

Ibid., p. 31C, Paris ed. = p. 51,6–7,
Bonn: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος κατή-
φειαν ἑαριναὶ τροπαὶ πρὸς γαληνιώσαν
μετεσκεύαζον ἰλαρότητα

2. Fragment 2, ed. Hase, p. 257A:
ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην (indi-
cating that a proverb is meant here)
θέσθαι

Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, ed. Hase, p. 46A,
Paris ed. = p. 75,3, Bonn: λείαν
Μυσῶν θέμενος

Ibid., p. 70D, Paris ed. = 114,25,
Bonn: λείαν ἐτίθει Μυσῶν

⁷² It is worth noting that in Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, 17,5, Bonn, Hase wrote ἀκαρῆ, keeping the spelling of the Paris manuscript: ἀπονητὶ τε καὶ ἀκαρῆ. In that passage, as in the Fragments, the adverb stands alone. Whenever Leo combined it with ἐν, Hase wrote ἀκαρεῖ.

⁷³ Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska..." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 152, 156–57, 160.

In itself, the occurrence of the same well-known proverb in two texts edited by the same scholar does not warrant special notice. What does make the coincidence noteworthy is the combination, in both texts, of the same verb (θέσθαι, θέμενος, ἐτίθει) with the proverbial saying. This combination is quite rare. Usually, Μυσῶν λεία is connected with εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι, ἔχειν, ποιεῖν, ποιεῖσθαι, ἐργάζεσθαι, κατεργάζεσθαι, ἀποδείκνυσθαι. I found only two examples of τιθέναι connected with Μυσῶν λεία, in Theodore Prodromus' and Nicetas Eugenianus' verses. In fact, these two cases are only one, since Nicetas imitates Theodore.⁷⁴

3. *Ibid.*, p. 257C: ἄνθρωποι τε, ἡδίκη-
κότες μηδέν

Ibid., p. 26D, Paris ed. = p. 43,11–12,
Bonn: ἐμοὶ δὲ τούτων εἰδηκότι μηδέν

However, the *codex unicus* of Leo has here τοῦτον ἡδοκ...δέν, and Hase made the following felicitous—and surely correct—conjecture on the margin of page 26D: *ut possis legere* τοῦτον ἡδικηκότι, *nihil illum laedenti*. Thus, in this passage of Leo, Hase proposed writing ἡδικηκότι μηδέν, which, but for the case, is precisely what the Fragments' narrator wrote in his own notes.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 257D: ἀνωμολόγητο...ὥς
τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ὧν ἡμῖν κινδυνεύεται

Ibid., p. 15D, Paris ed. = p. 26,14,
Bonn: διηγωνίζοντο, περὶ ψυχὴν κιν-
δυνεύοντες

Again, Hase proposed “*f(ortasse)* ψυχῆς” in the margin of page 15D, which was precisely the construction used by the Fragments' narrator in the same phrase.⁷⁵

VI. 1. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256B:
οὐκ ἦν πυρὰ καῦσαι

De Velit. Bell., ed. Hase, p. 136B,
Paris ed. = p. 211,10, Bonn: καὶ πυρὰ
πλείστα ἀνάπτειν; cf. *ibid.*, p. 164D,
Paris ed. = 254,20, Bonn: πυρὰ...
ἀνάψαι πολλά

2. Fragment 2, ed. Hase, p. 257A:
τρόπαιά τε τὰ μέγιστα κατωρθώκεσαν

Ibid., p. 118C, Paris ed. = p. 185,8,
Bonn: μέγιστα κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνεστήσατο
τρόπαια; cf. *ibid.*, p. 154B, Paris ed.
= p. 238,20, Bonn: μεγάλα...ἐργάση
τρόπαια

⁷⁴ Prodromus: *Rhodanthe and Dosiicles*, I:26, ed. Hercher, *Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, II (1859), 289; Eugenianus: *Drosilla and Charicles*, I:22, *ibid.*, 437. Hase also noted the proverb Μυσῶν λείαν (with the verb ποιεῖσθαι) in his edition of the second *Dialogue* of Emperor Manuel II (with a Mohammedan); cf. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale*... 8, 2 (1810), 375; furthermore, he quoted it (with the verb κατεργάζεσθαι) in a passage from *Ἐπιδημία Μάλρι*, cf. *ibid.*, 9,2 (1813), 189.—For the proverb itself, cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, II, p. 38, who adduce our passage of Fragment 2 (this is, to my knowledge, the only quotation from the Fragments in a modern philological work); cf. also J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 3 (Paris, 1831), 113 note 1.

⁷⁵ Professor Panayotakis provided the following list of words and expressions from Leo which are close to words or phrases found in the Fragments: ἀπανταχῇ (Paris ed., p. 254D = p. 497,6, Bonn), 103,6, Bonn; αὐτοβοεῖ αἰρεῖν (cf. ἅμα βοῇ παραλήψεσθαι, 258A = 501,34), 7,3, 29,18, 43,2, 52,10, 55,5, 66,8, 71,22, 131,10, 135,2, 171,7; διχῇ (258B, note b = 501, note ****), 110,22; ἔργον μαχαίρας or αἰχμῆς (cf. χειρῶν ἔργον καὶ ξίφους, 257C = 501,18), 12,9, 14,15, 29,17, 56,17, 74,20; μέγιστα τρόπαια (257A = 501,4), 158,3; ὁμοροί (258D = 503,33), 62,12, 99,19, 150,16.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 257C: χειρῶν ἔργον καὶ ξί-
φους ἐγένοντο

Ibid., p. 133C, Paris ed. = p. 207,5–6,
Bonn: πολλούς...ἔργον μαχαίρας
ποιήσονται

4. *Ibid.*, p. 258A: ἀπό...πόλεως προσ-
βολὰς ποιουμένων

Ibid., p. 151D, Paris ed. = pp. 234,
25–235,1, Bonn: πολλούς αὐτῶν μαχαί-
ρας ἔργον ποιήσης

5. *Ibid.*, p. 258B, note “b”: διχῇ τὸν
στρατὸν παρατάξαντες [i.e., the narrator]

Ibid., p. 165A, Paris ed. = p. 255,4,
Bonn: ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἰστάμενοι τὴν προσ-
βολὴν ποιήσονται

Ibid., p. 131D, Paris ed. = p. 204,4–
5, Bonn: ὁ στρατηγός...διχῇ τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ διέλη; cf. *ibid.*, p. 149A, Paris
ed. = p. 230,20, Bonn: ταύτας τοῖνυν
διχῇ διελών [i.e., ὁ τοῦ ὄλου στρατεύμα-
τος ἀρχηγός]; *ibid.*, p. 160A, Paris ed.
= p. 247,17–18, Bonn: συναγαγόν...
τό...στράτευμα καὶ διχῇ αὐτοὺς διελών

VII. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255C:
τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἄστρων ἐσπέριον φά-
σιν ἤδη ποιοῦντος...(Κρόνου δὲ καλου-
μένου)

Psellus, *De omnif. doct.*, 134 = p. 70,
6–7, ed. Westerink: ὦν πρῶτος ἐστὶν
ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενος ἀστήρ⁷⁶
Paris *Suppl. Grec* 811, fol. 224^v, de-
scription of *Palatinus Graecus* 356 in
Hase's own hand: *Breve excerptum...
de septem planetis...initium fol.* 169
recto: ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἰώνῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
Κρόνος ἐστίν
Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica*, pp. 143,19–
144,4, eds. Boll-Boer: πρῶτον γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ὁ μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου...
δυτικός...ὑπάρχων...τῇ...κράσει τὸ
μᾶλλον ἔχοντας [i.e., people] ἐν τῷ ξερῷ
καὶ ψυχρῷ <ποιεῖ>

That Saturn was the “first” of the stars was implied ever since that planet was assigned the outermost or “highest” position in the sequence of spheres. Accordingly, in the *Epinomis* the list of the three outer planets begins with Saturn; and Ptolemy in the *Almagest* calls the sphere of Saturn “the largest” and that of Jupiter “the second.” Similar instances can be multiplied, and include Theodore Metochites, whose astronomical work Hase quoted and described in detail.⁷⁷ However, I found no examples, other than the three just adduced, of

⁷⁶ The parallel was also pointed out by Vasil'evskij, “Zapiska...” in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 150.

⁷⁷ *Epinomis*, 987c 3–5; *Almagest*, IX:1 = II, 115, ed. Halma (1816) = II, 206,19–20, ed. Heiberg; cf. Geminus, *Elementa*, I,24, ed. Manitius; Cleomedes, 30, ed. Ziegler; Metochites, *Intr. Astr.*, I,13 = e.g., *Vaticanus Gr.* 1365, fol. 32^v. Hase's description of the *Vaticanus* is in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 811, fols. 24^r–38^r.

Saturn being explicitly called “the first of the stars.” The source of Psellus is either Stobaeus or Pseudo-Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*.⁷⁸ Thus, the narrator may have been influenced by Stobaeus; however, the tenor of our Fragment seems closer to Psellus than to either of his two presumed sources. Hase’s note in Paris *Supplément Grec* 811 is a part of his description of *Palatinus Graecus* 356. At the time of Hase’s writing, the *Palatinus* was in Paris; the note is thus prior to 1815.

VIII. Fragment 3, ed. Hase, p. 259A:	<i>Timarion</i> , ed. Hase (1813), p. 195,
ἐκεῖνος μὲν παντὸς μᾶλλον μείζον τὸ	10–12: στομίῳ...προσηγγίσαιμεν...μεί-
πράγμα ἐλογίσατο	ζονι μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὰ φρεάτεια

To the word μᾶλλον Hase appended the note: *Sic Cod.*, drawing attention to this unusual combination of two comparatives. In the index of *Timarion*, p. 161, Hase entered: μᾶλλον *cum comparativo*, 195,12. Again, there is nothing remarkable about the use of μᾶλλον with a comparative in two Byzantine texts edited by the same author. But the combination of μᾶλλον with the same word in both cases presents more of a coincidence.

One more set of passages will conclude our discussion of Greek parallels to the Fragments.⁷⁹ These passages form a category apart, since they come from Hase’s original Greek writings: from his secret Diary, preserved in Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363 (see figs. 24–27) and in an excerpt published in 1868,⁸⁰ and from a letter to Saint-Martin.

IX. 1. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255C:	Paris <i>Suppl. Grec</i> 1363, p. 119 (entry
πρὸς αὐτόν [<i>sc.</i> the “cold” planet Sa-	for July 23, 1843): ἦν πρῶτῃ νεφώδης ὁ
turn]...μετατρεπομένου τοῦ περιέχον-	περιέχων...ὕστερον δὲ κατηνέχθη ὑέτος
τος [<i>sc.</i> the air]	

<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 255D: εὐδαιμονότερον καὶ τοῦ	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 17 (entry for March 20, 1821):
περιέχοντος δεδειγμένου	ἐχαιρόμην ὅτι οὐκ ἦν εὐδία

Ibid., p. 44 (entry for August 1, 1830):
 ἔτι εὐδίας καὶ καύσεως οὔσης
 A. R. Rhangabe in ‘Εθνικὸν Ἡμερολό-
 γιον τοῦ...ἔτους 1868, p. 78 (entry for
 June 29, 1837): ἀναλαμπύσης πάλιν
 τῆς εὐδίας

⁷⁸ Stobaeus: I:24:11 = I, p. 203 ed. Wachsmuth; Ps.-Plutarch: II:15 = Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 344,17–345,3.

⁷⁹ This is not to say that other parallels to the Fragments are difficult to find. By way of example, I mention three passages from Synesius’ *Letter 4* (description of an adventurous journey by sea): σχετλιαζόντων δὲ ἡμῶν, ed. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, 640a (cf. Fragments, Paris ed., pp. 256C, 257B = pp. 498,28, 501,9, Bonn); ἡμῶν δὲ ἐξ ἀπειρίας χεῖρ’ ἐπικροτούντων *ibid.*, 643d (cf. Fragments, 255A, D = 497,17, 498,2–3); ἐγγρίμψαντες ἀκαρῇ πέτρᾳ *ibid.*, 643d (cf. Fragments, 256B = 498,20). Hase quotes from Synesius’ *Letters*: cf., e.g., his Leo, Paris ed., p. 211A = p. 435, Bonn.

⁸⁰ On Hase’s Diary, its copyists Dübner and Reinach, and the excerpt published by Rhangabe, cf. pp. 167–169; Appendix III, and figs. 24–27.

‘Ο περιέχων [*sc.* ἀήρ] is a rare term for “air, atmosphere, weather.”⁸¹ Yet, it not only occurs twice in the Fragments, but also reappears in Hase’s own Greek prose. The Fragments’ εὐδαινοτέρου is echoed by εὐδία of the Diary.

2. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256D: Paris *Suppl. Grec* 1363, p. 32 (entry
εὖναι δὲ τὴν νύκτα αἱ ἀσπίδες προσήεσαν for October 11, 1829): ἦν σφόδρα κεκ-
μηκώς, ὥστ’ ἐμὲ εἰς ἐδνην ἵεναι ἥδη περὶ
ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν (cf. fig. 27)

Ἐδνην does not exist in Greek; moreover, this word has no accent in Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363. The sense postulated for it in the context of Hase’s entry is “bed.” I submit that δ in ἐδνην is the copyist’s (Reinach’s or Dübner’s) error for ὕ, upsilon with an acute. We thus obtain εὐνην, “bed” (instead of the correct εὐνήν), for Hase’s original. This would mean that both he and the Fragments’ narrator committed precisely the same error in Greek accentuation.

3. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255B: Paris *Suppl. Grec* 1363, p. 11 (entry
ὡς ἀβάτους τὰς διόδους οἴεσθαι for October 4, 1814): Συνουσία σὺν τῇ
κόρῃ τῆς διόδου [*i.e.*, *fille de la rue*]
Ibid., p. 42 (entry for July 28, 1830):
ἐν μεγίστῃ καύσει... ἐδείπνησα ἐν διόδῳ
(*de l’Opéra*?)
Ibid., p. 44 (entry for July 30, 1830):
ἐν καύσει ἐδείπνησα ἐν γωνίᾳ τῆς διόδου
Choiseul
Ibid., p. 99 (entry for July 7, 1840):
μετὰ δὲ δεῖπνον ἐν διόδῳ ξυγεγνόμην τῇ...

Δίοδος, familiar from Thucydides, usually means “passage”; in the Fragments and in Hase’s Diary, however, the meaning is the concrete one of “road, street, avenue.”

4. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 255A: Paris *Suppl. Grec* 1363, p. 62 (entry
καὶ χεῖρας ἀνακροτήσαντες ἱκανῶς, προσ- for December 9, 1833): Πριάττης, ὃς
ίμεν ἦν ἱκανῶς φορτικός
Fragment 2, ed. Hase, p. 258A: *Ibid.*, p. 77 (entry for December 29,
ἡ γῆ... ἱκανῶς ἐξερήμωτο 1836): ἐδίδαξα, οἶμαι, ἱκανῶς καλῶς
Ibid., p. 99 (entry for July 7, 1840):
ἡμῶν δειπνούντων ἱκανῶς καλῶς
Ibid., p. 123 (entry for January 9,
1844): ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαικῇ [*i.e.*, modern
Greek] ἀκροάσει ἦσαν ἀκροαταὶ ἱκανῶς
πολλοί, ὅσον ὀκτώ

⁸¹ Examples of this meaning are given in the New Stephanus, *s.v.* Granted, the term is documented for one genuine tenth-century text, Genesius, *Regum*, 101,4–5, Bonn: exposed to the cold, an ascete σφοδρῶς ὥχριξ καὶ τῇ πυκνώσει τοῦ περιέχοντος ὀδυνηρῶς φρικιᾶ.

Both in the Fragments and in the Diary *ἱκανῶς* means “quite, quite a . . .,” in German, *ziemlich*. Hase himself attributed such a meaning to *ἱκανῶς* in a similar context; this is apparent from his lecture notes of the years 1818–64 in Paris *Supplément Grec* 1347. While explaining, on page 31, the modern Greek sentence διήλθομεν μέχρι τοῦδε τὴν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἱκανῶς σκοτεινὴν ἱστορίαν, he wrote “assez” above *ἱκανῶς*.

The following two words, which do not occur with great frequency in Greek, appear both in the Fragments and in Hase’s own writings:

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|--|---|
| <p>5. Fragment 1, ed. Hase, p. 256B:
Ἀνακωχῆς δ’ οὐδαμόθεν προσδοκωμένης</p> | <p>Paris <i>Suppl. Grec</i> 1363, p. 43 (entry for July 29, 1830): . . . ἀνακωχὴ ὀπλων . . . [i.e., armistice]</p> |
| <p>6. <i>Ibid.</i>, p. 254D: τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπανταχῇ πέπηκτο
<i>Ibid.</i>, p. 255C: οὕτως . . . λαμπρῶς ὁ χειμὼν διέσχε πανταχῇ</p> | <p>Paris <i>Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises</i> 9115, p. 115, Hase’s letter to Saint-Martin: Ἄσιος [i.e., Hase] . . . ὁ . . . ἀπανταχῇ πονήρως πράττων⁸²</p> |

The Fragments’ narrator hesitated between the ordinary *συν-* and the *ξυν-*, which was Attic, and therefore Thucydidean as well. *Ξυν-* was for him the norm, and the instances of *συν-* should be considered as oversights. The sequence of Fragment 1, page 254C— . . . συνηράσσετο καὶ ξυνέπιπτε καὶ ὄσαχοῦ τοῦτο ξυμβαίη . . . —is a convenient illustration of this distribution. Given the subject matter treated in Hase’s Diary, his entries contain doublets such as *συνουσία* and *ξυνουσία*, *συνεγενόμην* and *ξυνεγενόμην*, and combinations such as *ξυνεγενόμην οὖν τὴν δυστυχεστάτην συνουσίαν*. These together with less vivid terms such as *ξυνήντησα*, *ξυντυχία*, *ξυγγραφή*, *ξυνέδριον*, *ξυνειλήφθησαν*, *ξυνέλεις*, and *ξύν*, show that in the course of his career Hase treated *συν-* and *ξυν-* in a manner quite similar to that in which the narrator used this prefix in the Fragments, with Hase’s preference, too, going to the Attic form.

In the preceeding catalogue of parallels, those coming from Psellus and *Timarion* are admittedly more tentative than those derived from Thucydides or Leo Diaconus. If there is any merit to them, however, the accepted dating of the Fragments will have to be revised, since Psellus died in the seventies of the eleventh century and the author of *Timarion* wrote in the twelfth.

Similarities between Hase’s Greek and that of the narrator are more perplexing, for they take us down to the nineteenth century. They include the use of the same rare term, the likely occurrence of the same error in accentuation, and a similar treatment of *ξυν-*. These similarities may be fortuitous. If they are not, they still may be due to the Fragments’ influence upon the Greek of their discoverer. However—we must admit the possibility—the reverse may be true as well.

⁸² Cf. also Fragment 1, ed. Hase, 256B: οὐκ ἦν πυρὰ καῦσαι, and the derivatives of *καίω* which appear in Hase’s Diary: Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, 87 (November 29, 1838): ὥστ’ ἐμοὶ καυθῆναι φρικτῶς πῶς τὸ δακτύλιον, and καῦσις, “heat,” pp. 42, 44, 45, 159 (entries dating from 1830 to 1857).

REALIA. We pass now to the Fragments' unusual *realia*. Among these, I shall single out two toponyms and the reference to the planet Saturn.

1. As far as one can make out, the Κλίματα that had been destroyed by the barbarians and resettled and fortified by the narrator was a town, and Hase himself understood it in this way.⁸³ It has been recently observed that this meaning for Κλίματα is unique in a Byzantine text, either with reference to the Crimea or to any other area, and already a hundred years ago, the meaning of this word in the Fragments struck Vasil'evskij as peculiar.⁸⁴ His way out of the difficulty was to identify the narrator's residence at Κλίματα with the town Κλέμαδες mentioned in Procopius' *De Aedificiis*. This caused Vasil'evskij to place the Fragments' action in Bulgaria; while a Rumanian scholar who likewise accepted the meaning "town" for Κλίματα located it in Capidava (modern Calachioi) in Dobrudja.⁸⁵

What appears as an unparalleled usage of Κλίματα to modern scholars was a plausible interpretation to a reader of, for instance, Anselmo Banduri's edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*, published in 1711. In chapter forty-two of his work, Constantine speaks twice of the κάστρα τῶν Κλιμάτων near Kherson, and Banduri translates it by *urbes Climatum* on both occasions. Accordingly, on Banduri's map of the Empire the southern tip of the Crimea shows four small circles, arranged in a crescent, under the caption *Climata*.⁸⁶ These circles represent towns, each of which could presumably be called Klimata. Such an understanding of the term κάστρα τῶν Κλιμάτων was current in standard eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century works on the historical geography of the Black Sea coast. Charles de Peyssonnel adopted it when he said in 1765 "je croirois que c'est aux environs de Baly-Klava [Bala-klava] qu'étoient les κάστρα τῶν Κλιμάτων, *urbes Climatum*, de Constantin Porphyrogénète. C'est en effet dans cet endroit-là que M. de l'Isle les a placées dans sa carte de l'Empire d'Orient, composée d'après le Theme [i.e., *De Thematibus*] de ce prince."⁸⁷ On maps inserted opposite pages 87 and 107 of his work, Peyssonnel places the legend *urbes Climatum* west of Mangup in the southwest Crimea.

However, the closest parallel to the meaning of "town" for the Klimata of the Fragments occurs not in Peyssonnel, but in a work by a lady follower of his. Mrs. Maria Guthrie, formerly Acting Directress of the Imperial Convent for the Education of the Female Nobility of Russia, "performed a tour" of

⁸³ Cf. Hase's index to Leo, *s.vv. Clemata*, Paris ed., p. 290 = p. 577, Bonn: *C. castrum*; *fossa*, 298 = 587: *castrum Clematum*; *Taurica*, 322 = 620: in *T. Chersoneso castrum Clematum*.

⁸⁴ Nystazopoulou, "Note..." (as in Appendix I [c]), 324 note 7, with bibliography; Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska..." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 197, 200.

⁸⁵ Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska..." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 202–205. Cf. Procopius, *De Aedif.*, IV:4 (= p. 124,7, ed. Hauray). We know nothing about Κλέμαδες, cf. V. Beševliev, *Zur Deutung der Kastellnamen in Prokops Werk "De Aedificiis"* (1970), 114. The Rumanian scholar is Petre Diaconu, "Zur Frage..." 330–31, and "Despre datarea..." 1228; cf. also Condurachi-Barnea-Diaconu, "Nouvelles recherches..." 158 (all three articles as in Appendix I [c]).

⁸⁶ Anselmo Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*..., II (Paris, 1711), "Animadversiones in Constantini Porphyrogeniti libros de Thematibus, & de Administrando Imperio..." map between pp. 32,33.

⁸⁷ Charles de Peyssonnel, *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont-Euxin* (Paris, 1765), 92–93.

the Crimea in the years 1795–96 and conveyed her impressions in ninety-three letters which she addressed in French to her husband, Matthew Guthrie, M.D., in St. Petersburg. Dr. Guthrie translated these letters into English, rounded them out with historical, geographic, and numismatic information and published them, after his wife's death, in London in 1802.⁸⁸

Speaking of Climata in her Letter XXXIII, Mrs. Guthrie simplified the statement of Peyssonnel, her guide "in all doubtful cases," by changing his phrase into the singular. In the opening sentence of the letter, she declared: "We next visited the town of Balaklava, the Urbs Climatum of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus." Further along in the same letter, she described a fort nearby and concluded: "This mountain fort, probably placed on the scite of the antient Greek city of Klimatum [note the use of the singular again], must in all ages have been a place of refuge for the merchants and their goods, who, when the enemy appeared, probably left the open lower town for the protection of the fortified city on the hill."⁸⁹ Finally, the map of the Crimea appended to her book displays an *urbs Climatum*, again in the singular, near Balaklava and not far from the southernmost tip of the peninsula (cf. fig. 28).

Given the close parallel in meaning between the Klimata of the Fragments and the "Greek city of Klimatum" of Mrs. Guthrie, it is important to note one coincidence: Hase was using her book in 1816. In the memorandum on Surož-Sudak which he addressed to Count Rumjancev on July 7 of that year, Hase referred to "Madame Guthrie (*A tour through Taurida* etc. London 1802.4. p. 127)" who "assure qu'elle [i.e., the city of Sudak] étoit déjà en 786 siège d'un Archeveché."⁹⁰ The reference was correct.

We shall return to Mrs. Guthrie shortly in connection with another place-name occurring in the Fragments. A fourth eighteenth-century treatise, the *Memoria Populorum*, by Johann Gotthilf Stritter, dating from 1774, will close our discussion of the Klimata. It took over Banduri's translation of chapter forty-two of *De Administrando Imperio*; with it went the term *Climatum urbes*, duly glossed τα καστρα των κλιματων.⁹¹ No wonder that Hase, who knew and quoted all four works—those of Banduri and Guthrie in the letter of 1816 to Rumjancev⁹²—understood the Fragments' Κλήματα to have been a town or, to be

⁸⁸ *A Tour, Performed in the Years 1795–6 Through the Taurida, Or Crimea, The Antient Kingdom of Bosphorus, The . . . Republic of Tauric Cherson . . . by Mrs. Maria Guthrie . . . described in A Series of Letters to Her Husband, The Editor, Matthew Guthrie, M.D. . . .* (London, 1802).

⁸⁹ *A Tour . . .* (as in preceding note), 109 and 112; the reference to Peyssonnel as "guide" appears *ibid.*, 25. Incidentally, the layout of Mrs. Guthrie's city shows some similarity to the Klimata of the third Fragment.

⁹⁰ Hase to Rumjancev, 6; cf. Appendix II B and fig. 20.

⁹¹ J. G. Stritter, *Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum . . . incolentium, e Scriptoribus Historiae Byzantinae . . .*, II (St. Petersburg, 1774), 1042.

⁹² Cf. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi . . .*, 11, 2 (1827), 284 note 3 (Hase quotes and discusses Peyssonnel's *Observations*); Hase to Fallmerayer, letter of May 15, 1825, cf. Kollautz, "Jacob . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 314 (quotation from Peyssonnel's *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, II [1787], 7); *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale . . .*, 8, 2 (1810), 267 note 1 (Hase states that he used Stritter's *Memoriae*); Hase to Rumjancev, letter of July 7, 1816, 4–5 (reference to Banduri), and 6 (reference to Mrs. Guthrie) (cf. Appendix II B and figs. 18–20); marginal note 1 in the Paris ed., p. 258B = p. 503, note *, Bonn (reference to Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, I, 113B).

more precise, a *castrum*. In so doing, he simply followed the interpretation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' text offered in the learned literature at his disposal. Hase placed the Κλήματα near Kherson, because the term, which occurs thirteen times in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (eleven times in *De Administrando Imperio* and twice in *De Thematibus*), appears ten times in immediate connection with the place-name Kherson.⁹³ What would appear more natural to a reader of a hitherto unknown text illustrating Leo Diaconus' words Χερσῶνος ἄλωσιν than to encounter the term Κλήματα in that text? or more natural to a *falsarius* than to put it there and endow it with a meaning current at his own time?

Whoever casts suspicion on the Fragments' toponyms owes an alternate explanation for two traits which give our text a ring of authenticity: the itacistic spelling Κλήματα and the appearance of the city of Maurokastron in the first Fragment. The spelling with η is easily disposed of. Hase did not have to consult *Parisinus Graecus* 2009, an important manuscript of *De Administrando Imperio* showing Κλήματα throughout, since Banduri, whom he quoted, conveniently informed him that *caeterum apud eundem Constantinum scribitur κλήμα ut κλίμα . . . et ita varie scriptum . . . passim reperitur apud Auctores*.⁹⁴

At first, the difficulty with Maurokastron appears to be serious, since this place is impeccably attested in a twelfth-century manuscript as the seat of an (ephemeral?) metropolis νέας Ῥωσίας.⁹⁵ Whatever the exact location of that Maurokastron and the time of its elevation to the metropolitan rank may have been, both are close to the place and time of the Fragments. Consequently, the appearance of that place-name in our text does constitute an argument for its genuineness. In providing alternative explanations for the occurrence of Mau-

⁹³ *De Administrando Imperio*: 1,28 [= p. 48]; 10,5, 8, 11,10, 11, 12 [= p. 64]; 37,38–39 [= p. 168]; 42,8 [= p. 182]; 42,72, 82, 86 [= p. 186], eds. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 2nd ed., Dumbarton Oaks Texts, I (Washington, D.C., 1967); *De Thematibus*: 1,56 [= p. 86]; 12,3 [= p. 98], ed. Pertusi. Constantine Porphyrogenitus is the only author known to me *besides* our narrator to have used the term "Klimata" as a toponym.

⁹⁴ On the spelling in *Parisinus Gr.* 2009, cf., e.g., the index to *De Adm. Imp.* (as in previous note), 323, s.v. κλίματα; cf. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale* . . . (as in note 86 *supra*), 33.

⁹⁵ Cf. E. Honigmann, "Studies . . ." (as in Appendix I [b]), 158–62 (date of foundation: between 1060 and 1064). Recently, in an ingenious theory, A. Poppe took the Maurokastron of Paris *Coislin* 211, fol. 261^v to be a Greek *calque* for Černigov (černъ=black), and connected with that manuscript's entry a short-lived Rus' metropolis attested in one source for the seventies of the eleventh century; cf. J. Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii . . ." (as in Appendix I [c]), esp. pp. 97–101; *idem*, "L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux XIe–XIIe siècles," *Byzantion*, 40 (1970, published in 1971), esp. 180–81, and "Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach kościoła na Rusi. III . . .," *Przegląd Historyczny*, 56 (1965), esp. 557–60. If accepted, Poppe's theory would remove the Maurokastron of the Coislin manuscript from any discussion of the Fragments, since nobody has ever claimed that the narrator's party was returning North to Černigov rather than to a Maurokastron situated somewhere South of Borion. Tempting as I find it, I hesitate to accept the theory. While it is clear that Ἀσπρόκαστρον translated Bělgorodъ, it is less clear why Μαυρόκαστρον should have translated Černigovъ which, after all, is not Černъ gorodъ. Further, the untranslated form Τζερινιγῶγα occurs as early as the tenth century. Finally the designation νέα Ῥωσία (puzzling in any case) is less likely for Černigov, one of the oldest Rus' towns, than for a place at the mouth of the Dniester. Pending the appearance of further evidence on behalf of the Černigov theory, I shall assume that the Maurokastron of the Coislin manuscript was on the Dniester, as Honigmann did, but that it was not ephemeral; it seems to have changed its name, to have been demoted to a bishopric, and to have continued as τὸ ἀσπρόκαστρον, εἰς τὸ στόμιον τοῦ ἐλίσσου ποταμοῦ [= the Dniester], which by the mid-fourteenth century was the bishopric of the metropolis of Ῥωσία τῶν Κνάβων, also called Μεγάλη Ῥωσία. Cf. *Parisinus Gr.* 1356 (date: 1342–1347?), fols. 294^{r-v}.

rokastron in the Fragments, I shall leave aside the fact that the manuscript which mentions the metropoly of Maurokastron, Paris *Coislin* 211, folio 261^v, was accessible to Hase and shall merely remind the reader that Maurocastrum (with the variants Moncastro, Malvocastro, Maocastro, and the like) does occur in Western documents and on mediaeval maps, starting from 1290 and 1318, respectively, where it is put at the mouth of the Dniester.⁹⁶ In particular, the Catalan atlas of 1375 displays the spelling *Mavro Castro*; it was discovered in the Paris Library in 1803 or 1804, that is, at a time when Hase was already regularly frequenting the establishment in which he was to find permanent employ one or two years later.⁹⁷ In addition to manuscript maps, *Mavro Castro* on the Dniester was adduced in printed works of Hase's time: the example I came across is Count Jan Potocki's book which dates from 1796.⁹⁸

In Hase's view, however, the context of the Fragments pointed to the Crimea; it is therefore arguable that the narrator's Μαυρόκαστρον should be looked for there rather than near the Dniester. A Crimean Μαυρόκαστρον was a relatively recent settlement, but its name, connected with Karasubazar in the Crimea, was quoted in a famous eighteenth-century geographical encyclopedia.⁹⁹ On the other hand, *Maurum Castrum* is mentioned, along with Caffa and Sodaia (Sugdaea), as one of the Franciscan establishments in *Tartaria Aquilonaris*. Although it is probable that Maurokastron on the Dniester was meant there as well,¹⁰⁰ eighteenth-century works did connect this Franciscan establishment with the Crimea.¹⁰¹ Even the Franciscan document which displays that name in what could be viewed as a Crimean context was accessible to Hase, since one version of it was printed in the ninth volume of Wadding's standard *Annales Minorum*, which appeared in 1734.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ A clear presentation of the evidence involved is given by Brătianu, "Vicina II. . ." (as in Appendix I [b]).

⁹⁷ Cf. J. A. C. Buchon and J. Tastu, "Notice d'un atlas en langue catalane, manuscrit de l'an 1375, conservé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale, sous le n° 6816, fonds ancien, folio maximo," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* . . . , 14, 2 (1841), esp. 82. Hase was appointed to a permanent position in the manuscript division of the Bibliothèque Nationale in September 1805: cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet* . . . , II (as in note 24 *supra*), 280.

⁹⁸ *Mémoire sur un nouveau Peryple* [sic] *du Pont Euxin* (Vienna, 1796), 8.

⁹⁹ A. F. Büsching, *Grosse Erdbeschreibung* . . . , IV [= *Das Asiatische Russland und die Krimische Tartarei*] (1784), 348: "10) Kara-Su oder Karabasar . . . die Griechen haben sie vormalis Μαυρον Καστρον genannt." For other editions, cf. Büsching's *Erdbeschreibung* . . . (8th ed., 1787), 1225 and Thounmann, *Description de la Crimée* . . . (Strasbourg, 1786), 43: "10) Kara-sou ou Karasubasar, appelée autrefois par les Grecs Mavron-Kastron"; Thounmann seems originally to have written his description of the Crimea for Büsching's work; cf. his *Description* . . . , 2. For the statement that Karasubazar in the Crimea was a recent Tartar town, perhaps later than the sixteenth century, cf. Bertier-Delagarde, "K voprosu..." (as in Appendix I [b]), 7. In 1837, the inhabitants of Karasubazar no longer remembered their town's having been called Mavron Kastron; cf. P. Keppen [= P. I. Köppen], *Krymskij Sbornik. O drevnostjax južnogo berega Kryma i gor Tavričeskix* (St. Petersburg, 1837), 337–38.

¹⁰⁰ Implied in V. Laurent, "Un évêché fantôme ou la Bitzina taurique," *Echos d'orient*, 38 (1939), 91–103, esp. 102–103, and in Brătianu's "Vicina II. . ." (as in Appendix I [b]), 162.

¹⁰¹ Both Büsching and Thounmann (as in note 99 *supra*) state in their passages on Kara(su)bazar [= Mavron Kastron] that as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century Franciscans had a monastery there.

¹⁰² Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum* . . . 9 (2nd ed., Rome, 1734), 159–235, esp. 232–33: *Vicaria Aquilonis habet duas Custodias*, 1) *Custodia Gazariae* . . . *Sclata. Barason* [read *Carasou*?]. *Maurum. Castrum. Vicena. Cimbulum. Tana. Saray*. Hase could have known from Peyssonnel's *Observations* . . . (as in note 87 *supra*), 84, if not from other sources, that "Gazaria" was the name of the Crimea, at least in the fourteenth century. Evidence for, and difficulties connected with the localization of Mauro-

However, we can go one step beyond these suppositions, for Mrs. Guthrie comes to our rescue again, in a passage which seems to have escaped the students of Maurokastron. Having arrived in Karasubazar, she had the following to report: "I now address you from the Tartar city of Karasubazar . . . This Tartar city seems to stand on the site of antient Portacra . . . It was the Mavron Kastron of the Byzantine writers, and then a city of the first rank on the peninsula; nay, even in the Time of the Tartars it still contained large well-built churches, probably erected by the Goths and Genoese . . ." ¹⁰³ That the "Byzantine writers" who located Maurokastron in the Crimea are nowhere to be found is of no concern to us here. In 1816, Hase quoted Mrs. Guthrie's work. I attribute great weight to this coincidence and believe that when the narrator

kastron may be summarized as follows: A. Most scholars place Maurokastron at the mouth of the Dniester, adducing incontrovertible evidence—namely, Genoese and Venetian documents, portulans, and travelers' accounts ranging in date from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century. This localization, however, presents two difficulties: 1) the form "Blacktown," *Maurocastrum*, is neither the earliest nor the most frequently used term; rather, for the port on the Dniester, the variants *Malvo-*, *Mon-*, *Mao-* predominate; 2) from the early fourteenth century on, the name "Blacktown" began to compete with that of "Whitetown," Ἀσπρόκαστρον, Akkerman, Bělgorod, Bellegrad, Album Castrum, and by the late fifteenth (?) century was supplanted by it; cf. esp. N. Bănescu, "Maurocastrum - Mo(n) castro - Cetatea Albă," *Academia Română, Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, 3rd Ser., 22, Mem. 6 (1939), 1-14; M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidis, "Venise et la mer Noire du XI^e au XV^e siècle," *Θησαυρίσματα*, 7 (1970), 41-43 and note 107 (for the occurrence of Μαυρόκαστρον in a late portulan, cf. A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs* . . . [1947], 291). B. Other scholars placed a Maurokastron in the Crimea, relying on Büsching's and Thounmann's information, on various lists of Franciscan establishments, and on our Fragments—none of them, to my knowledge, quoted Mrs. Guthrie. Only one author, J. Bromberg, used a Venetian document of 1435 (usually adduced to put Maurokastron at the mouth of the Dniester) to locate "Blacktown" in the Crimea. On the strength of such evidence, the Crimean Maurokastron was usually equated with Karasubazar or Mangup; Bertier-Delagarde, "K voprosu . . .," (as in Appendix I [b]), 18-19, was the only one to seek our narrator's Μαυρόκαστρον in Černaja Dolina (Karadere) between Taman' and Perekop.

This second localization presented more serious difficulties than the first. Büsching's and Thounmann's information was not documented; the Franciscan lists reflected two stages in the organization of Franciscan provinces and presented the Qypčaq Empire (i.e., the *Tartaria Aquilonaris*) as comprising the mouth of the Dniester; the Fragments were ambiguous and thus helped to confuse rather than to clarify the issue; and the Venetian document of 1435 did not refer to the Crimea. Cf., in addition to works quoted in note 100 *supra*, F. K. Brun (Bruun), "Černomorskie Goty i sledy dolgogo ix bybyvanija v južnoj Rossii," *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk*, 24 (1874), 30-31; *idem*, "Černomor'e. Sbornik izsledovanij po istoričeskoj geografii Južnoj Rossii, II," *Zapiski Imp. Novorossijskogo Universiteta*, 30 (1880), 216-17; W. Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien* [= *Ethnologische Forschungen über Ost-Europa und Nord-Asien*, 1] (1881), 37 (hesitates between the Dniester and Karasubazar); J. Bromberg, "Du nouveau sur les princes de Theodoro-Mangoup en Gothie Criméenne," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, 1 (1946), 65-74 (with references to two previous—also untenable—articles by the same author). As a curiosity, I quote the compromise solution of P. Golubovskij, cited by Westberg, "Zapiska . . ." (as in Appendix I), 80, who put the Maurokastron of the first Fragment at Kara-Kerman, on the Southern Bug.—In a note to his Greek translation of Nicholas Costin's *Moldavian Chronicle*, Hase stated: "Ἀσπρόκαστρον [le Château-Blanc] des Grecs est la ville d'Akkirman, située sur la rive droite du Dniester, à son embouchure dans la Mer Noire . . ." cf. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* . . . 11, 2 (1827), 338 note 2 [the same text in the printer's copy of Costin in Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 859, p. 295]. Thus, in the years 1822-1827 Hase did not connect Maurokastron with Ἀσπρόκαστρον-Akkerman on the Dniester, although he could have learned from Peyssonnel's work, which he quoted and criticized in the very notes to Costin's chronicle, that the old name of Akkirman was Moncastro; cf. *Observations* . . . (as in note 87 *supra*), 145. Hase's note to Costin's Ἀσπρόκαστρον and the fact that he did not quote the Fragments on that occasion, suggest that he connected the Μαυρόκαστρον of Fragment 1 with the Crimea. A third Μαυρόκαστρον may have been encountered by Hase: the name of the citadel, or of both castle and town, of Koloneia in the Pontus (today's Şebīn-Karahisar). It is mentioned in Attaleiates, *Hist.* 125,6, Bonn, and in Scylitzes Continuatus, 679,16, Bonn. Hase made frequent use of Scylitzes in his work on Leo.

¹⁰³ *A Tour* . . . (as in note 88 *supra*), Letter LXII, p. 196.

of the Fragments set Maurokastron as a goal on his trek through the snow-covered steppe, the goal he had in mind was a “city of the first rank on the peninsula”—of Crimea.

2. The following story can be pieced together from the astronomical passage of the first Fragment and its variant readings: in the midst of winter, about midnight, the narrator’s party was about to leave Borion for Maurokastron; however, a formidable storm set in, making the journey impossible. The narrator advised his party to remain indoors, since at that point, as he himself “could show from <the observation of?> the stars,” Saturn was in its vespertine phase and stood at the beginnings of the sign of Aquarius.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, the sun was making its course through the winter signs, τὰ χειμερινά.

In this astronomical story, three statements are unexceptionable: that Saturn was in its vespertine phase—this Saturn obviously can do, and the terminology used by the narrator, if not usual, is paralleled, for instance, by Ptolemy’s *Apotelesmatica*;¹⁰⁵ that Saturn was at the beginnings of Aquarius—this Saturn does about every thirty years; that the sun was in the winter signs—the sun is there every winter. After that—if we want to take the story literally—we meet with difficulties. “Vespertine phase” means the time of a star’s last visibility on the western horizon after sunset, that is, the point in time just preceding the one when the sun, in consequence of its own apparent movement along the ecliptic, comes too close to the planet and drowns that planet in its light. For Saturn still to be thus visible on the western horizon, its elongation from the sun should be no less than roughly fifteen to twelve degrees. So, if the narrator’s Saturn was at the beginnings of Aquarius, the sun must have been somewhere in the second half of Capricorn.¹⁰⁶ This would still, if only loosely, correspond to its “running through” the winter signs.¹⁰⁷ The second half of Capricorn puts us sometime about the end of December, and, since the narrator’s party was near the banks of the (lower?) Dnieper, the sun set for them sometime around half-past four o’clock.¹⁰⁸ Saturn, being in its vespertine phase, would have to set about an hour later, as its elongation was roughly fifteen degrees from the sun. However, the time of the scene described in the Fragment is midnight, and in December, an observer, standing on the banks of

¹⁰⁴ That the sign, rather than the constellation, was meant, is assured by the expression τὰς ἀρχάς, usually connected with the first degree of a zodiacal sign; cf. Ptolemy, *Almagest*, XIII:9.

¹⁰⁵ The usual term is δύσις. For ἐσπέριος φάσις, cf. Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica*, 2:11:7 = p. 99,24–25, eds. Boll and Boer; cf. also Theodore Metochites, *Intr. Astr.*, I:82: διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἀστέρων, ἑῷαί τε φάσεις πρώται λέγονται καὶ ἐσπέριαί ἐσχάται; *ibid.*, I:83: <ἀστέρες> ποιοῦνται τὰς φάσεις ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἑκάστου δωδεκαμορίου, *Vaticanus Gr.* 1365 (catalogued by Hase; cf. note 77 *supra*), fols. 218^v, 222^v.

¹⁰⁶ According to Ptolemy, when Saturn is in 1° of Aquarius, its elongation from the sun must be 12°26′ for the latitude of Phoenicia; cf. *Almagest*, XIII:10 [= II, 606, ed. Heiberg].

¹⁰⁷ For an imprecise usage, cf., e.g., Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica*, 1:12:2, 18:4, 19:1, 4, 7 = pp. 33:10, 39:10 (Capricorn and Aquarius are χειμερινά) 41:8, 42:1, 43:4, eds. Boll and Boer.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the table of sunsets for the latitude 48°28′ (that of Dnepropetrovsk) between December and February of the years 874–1110 in Westberg, *Die Fragmente...* (as in Appendix I), 126; cf., e.g., Ptolemy, *Almagest*, II,13 [= I, 186–7 ed. Heiberg]: greatest length of daylight for the *Clima* of Borysthene is sixteen hours, hence sunset during the winter solstice is at 4:00 P.M.

the Dnieper, presumably not too far from the Crimea, cannot possibly see Saturn in its vespertine phase at midnight, for at that hour and latitude the setting Saturn's elongation from the sun would be more than one hundred degrees, not fifteen. We must conclude either that the Fragment's description of the winter storm was written in the comfort of the narrator's study and that his mention of both midnight and Saturn's vespertine phase, which he himself "had *shown* from the stars," was retrospective and due to a lapse in memory, or that midnight in our passage should not be connected at all with the description of Saturn's position.¹⁰⁹ At the very least, the astronomical passage of the Fragments is of little or no value for establishing their chronology¹¹⁰ and should not be taken too literally.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ This was the conclusion of Westberg, *Die Fragmente*... (as in Appendix I), 109, who based his case chiefly on the astronomical analysis of the first Fragment.

¹¹⁰ Left to themselves, astronomers, approached by various students of the Fragments, were able to produce only an open-ended series of dates about twenty-nine and one-half years apart. To assign the Fragments to a given time in the series, they needed additional information of two kinds: (a) on the meaning of astronomical terms in the Greek text, and (b) on data of a non-astronomical character, ranging from the century of the Fragments' original manuscript to the actual day on which the Dnieper usually froze over. Astronomers were provided with both kinds of information by the very historians who had consulted them in the first place. Secure in their possession of tables and diagrams, historians received back from their scientific colleagues merely their own preconceptions, both historical and terminological, in correctly tailored astronomical dress. Thus Uspenskij's expert, the Odessa Professor Kononovič, agreed with him that Saturn could have been observed in the *constellation* of Aquarius at the end of 903—Uspenskij's preferred date for the Fragments—and proved it by means of a diagram; cf. Uspenskij, "Vizantijskie..." (as in Appendix I [a]), 42. Pič entrusted the same problem to Dr. Seydler, fed him his own interpretation concerning the setting of Saturn about midnight (cf. Fragment 1, p. 255B-C), and obtained the desired result of 991 as the Fragments' date; cf. Pič, *Der Nationale*... (as in Appendix I [a]), 84 and 85 note. Westberg eliminated midnight from the data with which he provided his two informants, Professor Wislicenus from Strasbourg and Dr. Seyboth from the leading Russian observatory of Pulkovo and was offered the year 963, corroborated by three tables and six diagrams. This happened to be the dating preferred by Westberg's mentor Kunik in 1874; cf. Westberg, *Die Fragmente*... 109-18, 6 and "Zapiska..." 77 (both as in Appendix I). Vasil'evskij did the most reasonable thing: about 1876, he learned that Saturn would be in the *sign* of Aquarius in 1877, counted back, and came up with the years 993-996 and 964-967 as likely dates for the Fragments (he opted for the earlier one). Vasil'evskij's results, obtained "without any help of astronomy," were about as good as professional computations. Cf. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*... (as in Appendix I [a]), 205-206. I shall close this list by quoting my own astronomer, Professor Otto Neugebauer: "As a source for historical chronology," he wrote, "the text [i.e., the astronomical passage of the Fragments] is obviously valueless since one may keep adding or subtracting multiples of 30 years to the above given dates [i.e., 903, 932, 962, 992, 1021, etc.]. The cause of the misunderstanding of the astronomical data by Westberg or his 'Beraters' lies in the fact that <they> did not know that 'Aquarius' never can mean the constellation but only the zodiacal sign." (Letter of September 22, 1961). The error of the astronomers was excusable, since they were led into it by historians. The Fragments' astronomical passage, the astronomers were led to believe, was a record of direct observation, made in the "deserted Steppe of the Pontus," and astronomers claimed that it was virtually impossible to determine the boundaries of a *zodiacal sign* from such observation; cf. Seyboth in Westberg, *Die Fragmente*... (as in Appendix I), 111-12. To my knowledge, the only scholar after Vasil'evskij who assumed that the Fragments referred to the *sign* of Aquarius, was Šangin, "Zapiska..." (as in Appendix I [b]), 122. He used an astrological text of A.D. 464, counted forward, and obtained February 971 as the date of our text.—For keen observations on the circular character of the "astronomical proof" adduced by students of the Fragments, cf. Uspenskij, "F. Vestberg..." (as in Appendix I [b]), 254-55.

¹¹¹ If the narrator wrote in his study, his astronomical passage could have been inspired, *exempli gratia*, by Ptolemy's *Almagest*, XI:6, where the position of Saturn on December 22, A.D. 138 at 8:00 p.m. (τῷ β' ἔτει Ἀντωνίνου κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Μεχρὶ 5' εἰς τὴν ζ' πρὸ δ' ὥρων ἰσημερινῶν τοῦ μεσονυκτίου) is described, in part, as being in 904' of Aquarius: τότε δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ... ἐπέχων ἐφαίνετο ὕδροχόου μοίρας 9 καὶ 16'. The second volume of the *Almagest*, containing Book XI, was published by Abbé Halma in Paris in 1816. The passage in question is on p. 284 of the Halma edition [= II, 414,5-11, ed. Heiberg]. Hase worked on Ptolemy's *Syntax* and *Hourly Tables*, cf. Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 710, pp. 493, 495.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK. At least two expressions in the Fragments do not correspond to the outlook which modern scholars posit for the mind of a tenth-century Byzantine author. In treating both expressions I shall belabor the obvious.

The first of the Fragments' debatable phrases has to do with the term "Hellenic." The allies, or subjects, of the narrator preferred to submit to the ruler holding sway to the north of the Danube rather than to the narrator himself—and through him, presumably, to the Emperor of Byzantium—in part because they were not imbued with the "more pure Hellenic way of life." The Fragments' words 'Ελληνικώτεροι τρόποι, as a positive term and a sign of adherence to a high civilization, are redolent of Plutarch and Isocrates, whom Koraes—an acquaintance of Hase's—had just published in 1807, or of Pachymeres, who lived about the year 1300.¹¹² They are unparalleled, either in their positive connotation or in their application to things Byzantine, in any tenth-century text familiar to me. Today, everyone knows what any Byzantine narrator in the tenth century must have known, but what was difficult to realize at the beginning of the nineteenth: that, ever since the Church Fathers and certainly since the end of the sixth century, the terms "Hellene" and "Hellenic" were endowed with a negative connotation and came to mean "pagan"—even the pagan historian Zosimus used "Hellene" in this way—or at best "secular." Procopius' infrequent use of "Hellene" in the sense of a contemporary "inhabitant of Greece" and the early Byzantine term "Hellenic" with reference to the Greek language are isolated, neutral examples which do nothing to change the picture.¹¹³ The same applies to the "Hellenic arts" occurring in the ninth-century Slavic *Vita Constantini*,¹¹⁴ or to the remark by Constantine Porphyrogenitus about a high dignitary turned monk who was "not privy to the Hellenic Muses."¹¹⁵ Both cases are simply references to profane or grammatical learning, not to a superior way of life. Leo Diaconus—whether he was the narrator's contemporary or just his *livre de chevet*—offers a good example of what the phrase 'Ελληνικός τρόπος meant in a tenth-century text, even one written in high style: there, it applies to the bloody funerary sacrifices of the Russian idolaters, means "the pagan way," and is plainly a bad thing.¹¹⁶ We have to wait until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the reappearance of the terms "Hellenes" and "Hellenic" to denote contemporary

¹¹² Cf. Pachymeres, *Hist.*, I, 360,9–11, Bonn: ὁν . . . μετεμφίλασε πρὸς τὸ 'Ελληνικώτερον, meaning "had him dress in a Greek fashion."

¹¹³ Cf. K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner . . .* (1954), esp. 10–12; P. K. Christou, *Αἱ περιπέτειαι τῶν ἔθνικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν 'Ελλήνων* (Thessalonica, 1960), 21–28.

¹¹⁴ Chapter IV:2, ed., e.g., F. Grivec-F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis, Fontes* (1960), 99: Constantine, the future Apostle to the Slavs, learned "astronomy, music, and all the other Hellenic arts (*jelinskijimъ xodožstvomuъ*)."

¹¹⁵ *De Cerimoniis*, 457,1–8, Bonn. Lechner, *Hellenen . . .* (as in note 113 *supra*), 52–53, attributes too much importance to this quotation, which concerns only Magister Leo's inferior style and his solecisms.

¹¹⁶ Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, esp. 150,1, Bonn = Paris ed., p. 92D. Although Hase translated 'Ελληνικὸν τρόπον by *Graecorum more*, he knew that 'Ελληνικός meant "pagan," for he rendered 'Ελληνικοῖς ὀργίοις in the same passage by *gentilium sacris* and illustrated it in his notes (Paris ed., p. 245 = pp. 484–485, Bonn) by the story of an unbaptized Scythian (i.e., Russian) boy. For this story, going back to the collection of Paul of Monembasia, see F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (3rd ed., 1957), no. 1449e; *idem*, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), 305 (ad no. 1449e).

Byzantines and "Byzantine ways," respectively, and for them to acquire a positive connotation.¹¹⁷

The oddity of finding the term Ἑλληνικωτέρων τρόπων in a tenth-century Byzantine text did not escape the perspicacious Vasil'evskij, who postulated the meaning "pagan [i.e., Russian] ways" for these words.¹¹⁸ Vasil'evskij's instincts were right, but again, as when he considered Κλήματα as a town, he proposed the wrong remedy, for within the Fragments' context, Ἑλληνικωτέρων τρόπων must mean "the more refined Hellenic way of life." Since we cannot remove the incongruity by modifying the Fragments' meaning, we must once more consider modifying their date.

The way in which the participle βασιλεύοντα is used in the third Fragment is the second of the Fragments' conceptual anachronisms. The ruler whose territory, lying to the north of the Danube, adjoined that of the narrator's subjects or allies was a barbarian. Yet, when the narrator described the power of that ruler, he used the verb βασιλεύειν: κατὰ τὰ βόρεια τοῦ Ἰστροῦ βασιλεύοντα. This was the perspective of fifth-century Athens or sixth-century Byzantium, not of the year 1000. In Thucydides, neither βασιλεύς nor βασιλεύειν was preempted for the Persian or Spartan kings alone: Lybians or Sicilians, but above all barbaric northern neighbors of the Hellenes, Macedonians, Molossians, Thracians, Lyncestians, and Odrysians, were ruled by βασιλεῖς, whose power was exercised by βασιλεύειν. The Second Book of Thucydides' *History* which, as we already know, greatly impressed the Fragments' narrator, offers a number of examples of this usage.

In the sixth century, Procopius and Agathias, both imitators of Thucydides, followed a similar pattern: the Goths, the Franks of Gaul, the Lazae of the Caucasus, or the Hepthalite Huns either had their βασιλεῖς or lived in territories called βασιλείαι, and the Byzantine emperor, whenever it was necessary to differentiate him from these rulers in unofficial language, was called βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγιστος.¹¹⁹ Such permissive treatment of βασιλεύς and related words was possible until that term acquired official status as the principal component in the titlature of the Byzantine emperors themselves. This happened under Heraclius, and from then on until late Byzantine times there could be, on the part of the Byzantines, occasional and grudging concessions of the imperial title to the Carolingians or the Bulgarians, but never to anonymous barbarian kinglets. Texts reflect this attitude and in no century more eloquently than in the tenth, the putative date of the Fragments. The story which these texts tell is but a chapter in the history of Byzantine imperial ideology, and this history has been pieced together and admirably told by scholars of our day.¹²⁰ In Hase's time, on the other hand, no one could have had a systematic notion of By-

¹¹⁷ Cf., e.g., Lechner, *Hellenen*... (as in note 113 *supra*), 56-70; A. E. Bakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, I (1961), 67-77 (bibliography); cf. the English edition of the same work, *Origins of the Greek Nation* (1970), 36-43; Chrestou, Αἱ περιπέτειαι... (as in note 113 *supra*), 46-49.

¹¹⁸ "Zapiska..." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 179-80. Vasil'evskij also quoted the relevant passage of Leo Diaconus.

¹¹⁹ Agathias, *Hist.*, 4:9:3 [= p. 134, 7, ed. Keydell].

¹²⁰ By Bréhier, Dölger, Ohnsorge, Ostrogorski, and Treitinger.

zantine imperial ideology. Hase's frame of reference was provided precisely by authors he quoted in his work on Leo; and in these authors—Thucydides, Procopius, and Agathias—βασιλεύς and βασιλεύειν do occur along with such exotic names as Sitalkes, Elemundus, Teia, Chlotharius, or Gubazes.¹²¹

However, the Fragments' northern ruler was not a Thracian, Goth, or Laz, but presumably a Russian. Here a modern work again comes in handy, as did Mrs. Guthrie's *Tour*. This work endowed Russian rulers of the tenth and eleventh centuries with German equivalents of imperial titles; again, we know that in 1816 Hase quoted it for Count Rumjancev's benefit. In his memorandum on Surož, where he discussed, among other things, the place-name Tmutarakan' on the Taman' peninsula opposite the Crimea, Hase referred to "Histoire ancienne d'Asov et de la Crimée dans le Recueil de Müller volume II cahier I p. 71 [sic] S. Pétersbourg 1736.8."¹²² In giving this reference, Hase made a slight error. He must have meant page 77, for it is on this page in the first fascicule of the second volume of Müller's *Sammlung* that the names Tmutracan, Tamartarcha, and Ταμάταρχα are discussed. Page 77 alone, which Hase doubtless read, contains four references to "Czar Jaroslaw" or "Czar Wsewolod," and the preceding page 76 says about Vladimir the Great, Hase's own candidate for the ruler holding sway to the north of the Danube, "er sey der erste unter den Russischen Kayseren gewesen, welcher Asov erobert." Everybody knows that the Greek equivalent for "Czar" and "Kaiser" is βασιλεύς; but did everybody know in Hase's day that from the Byzantine point of view there were no βασιλείς of the Russes in the tenth or the eleventh century? If not, it follows that, while the Fragments' attribution of βασιλεύειν to a barbarian, possibly a Russian one, appears jarring to a modern reader,¹²³ it was quite acceptable to a scholar of Hase's time.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Thucydides, e.g., II:21:29; Procopius, e.g., *De Bello Goth.* IV:9:8, 10:2, 27:19 [= II, p. 526, 16, 531, 2, 638, 5–6, ed. Haury]; Agathias, *Hist.*, Book I:3:1, 2, 4, 5:1, 6:2, 8:4, 20:10, Book II:2:2, 18:6, Book III:2:3, 14:3, 15:3, 4, 8, Book IV:3:3, 4:3, 6:3, 7:7 bis, 9, 9:9 bis, 13:4 [= pp. 12, 16, 24, 13, 3, 15, 11, 17, 8, 20, 9, 37, 1, 42, 3, 64, 31, 85, 12, 102, 19, 103, 22, 28, 104, 6–7, 125, 32, 127, 3, 129, 28, 131, 21, 23, 33, 135, 4, 10, 138, 28, ed. Keydell]. If Hase read the chapter on the theme of Kherson in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Thematribus*—and it is probable that he did, since he was interested in Kherson and quoted *De Thematribus* in his notes to Leo, Paris ed., p. 193A = p. 408, Bonn—he found there βασιλεύειν and ἐβασιλεύετο applied to Bosporan kings, ruling over Kherson and the Klimata. Cf. *De Thematribus*, 12, 3 and 14 [= pp. 98–99, ed. Pertusi].

¹²² Hase's letter to Rumjancev, 3–4; cf. Appendix II (b) and figs. 17–18; the reference is to Gerhard Friedrich Müller, *Sammlung russischer Geschichte, Erstes Stück, Zweyter Band* (St. Petersburg, 1736), 77.

¹²³ The term βασιλεύοντα in the third Fragment disturbed several earlier scholars: Kunik (especially in his late years), Buračkov, Uspenskij, Miljukov, and Braun. They all considered it inappropriate or too pretentious in connection with Princes Igor and Svjatoslav, but they all found their way out of the impasse. Kunik and Braun connected the word with Vladimir (a relative of the Byzantine emperor, or even emperor himself, witness the Greek conciliar decree of 1551!). Uspenskij's and Miljukov's task was easier, since in their opinion the Fragments had nothing to do with Russian history, and the ruler of the North was the Bulgarian *c(ěsa)r'*, that is, βασιλεύς, Simeon. Finally, Buračkov reasoned as follows: since a tenth-century Greek, familiar with the terminology of his time, could not have called Igor τόν . . . βασιλεύοντα, the toparch, narrator of the Fragments, was not a Greek, but "a Khersonite, a Steppe-dweller, living along the banks of the Dnieper." Cf. Westberg, *Die Fragmente* . . . , 122; Uspenskij, "Vizantijskie . . .," 28; *idem*, "F. Vestberg . . .," 262; Miljukov, "Vremja . . .," 282; Buračkov, "O zapiske . . .," 245 (all as in Appendix I and I [a]).

¹²⁴ In the course of the discussion which followed the presentation of my paper on the Fragments at the Thirteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow (1970), my colleague G. G. Litavrin drew the attention of the assembly to the fact that the anonymous *Hortatory Speech to an Em-*

If the foregoing discussion of the Fragments' internal evidence has not damaged our text's credibility, those who believe in its authority will not be disturbed by its minor oddities, such as the unattested village of Borion; the narrator's information—based on direct knowledge and therefore hardly a result of legendary inflation—that ten whole cities and five hundred villages (settlements which must thus have sheltered about sixty thousand people) were destroyed in the area under his jurisdiction, or in close proximity to it, by barbarians whom he managed to repulse with four hundred troops;¹²⁵ the narrator's account of his soldiers sleeping on their shields;¹²⁶ not to mention the use of ἐκ βάρων with the verb καταβάλλειν, in the manner of Thucydides and Procopius, although in later Byzantine texts ἐκ βάρων is usually coupled with that verb's exact opposite, ἀνεγείρειν or the like;¹²⁷ or the appearance of σατραπεία as a term for a tenth-century administrative unit.¹²⁸ I shall therefore rest my case and turn to the summation.

Until now, scholarly discussion of the Fragments has proceeded from the following four assumptions: the original manuscript of the narrator's story was roughly contemporary with the writing of the Fragments themselves; it is lost or has not yet been rediscovered; its date falls within two centuries, the tenth

peror, a source of the second half of the eleventh century, refers to the son of a βασιλεὺς Βαράγγιος, that is Harald, the son of the King of Norway. Cf. *Cecaumeni Strategicon*, eds. Wassilewsky and Jernstedt, p. 97,2.—The few eleventh- or twelfth-century examples of the use of βασιλεὺς, βασιλικός in connection with contemporary non-Byzantines have mostly to do with Armenians or "Persians" (Turks). Such usage was classical. When the *Vita Pancratii*, cod. *Athous Laurae* Δ58, fols. 206^r and 208^r speaks of Ἀκυλίνος . . . βασιλεὺς Καλαβρίας, this is because the action occurs in mythical times. I chanced upon only one close parallel to the usage of the Fragments, but it dates from the twelfth century: cf. Manasses, *Comp. Chron.* 3524 = p. 151, Bonn: ἦν δ' ὁ Χαγάνος βασιλεὺς Σκυθῶν τῶν προσαρκτίων (Hase used Manasses). The defenders of the Fragments' authenticity might wish to quote a *graffito* which recently came to light in St. Sophia of Kiev. There, the death of "our Emperor," *c(ēsa)rja naš[e]go*, is mentioned together with the date of 1054. However, this rare use represents the Kievan, not the Byzantine, point of view. Cf., e.g., S. A. Vysockij, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj* (1966), 39–41.

¹²⁵ Levčenko, "K voprosu . . ." (as in Appendix I [a]), 325, realized that there was no place for ten cities and five hundred villages on the narrow coastal strip of the Crimea occupied by the theme of Kherson. His solution to the difficulty was to move the scene of events elsewhere.

¹²⁶ To serve as beds, the shields must have been long, and Leo Diaconus, Paris ed., p. 82B = p. 133, 15–16, Bonn, does speak of shields (θυρεοὺς) that reached down to the feet (ποδῆρες). However, these were Russian shields, and the fact that Leo described them in detail suggests that their shape seemed unusual to a Byzantine. As for Byzantines themselves—and the narrator's troops were Byzantines—they seem to have had small round shields shortly before the time of Manuel I, for we are told that that ruler had the round shields of his army changed to ποδῆρες; cf. Cinnamus, *Hist.*, 125,4–8, Bonn.

¹²⁷ Cf., however, Leo Diaconus, 33,10, Bonn: ἐκ βάρων κατεριπώσαντι; 69,2: ἐκ βάρων ἀντεράπη.

¹²⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematribus*, I,67–68 [= p. 63, ed. Pertusi], uses σατραπεία and σατράπης, but the time he describes is that of the ancient Persians and Macedonians. Professor Hans-Georg Beck has brought to my attention the Greek text of the *Constitutum Constantini* (it may go back to about the year eight hundred), in which Constantine addresses πᾶσι τοῖς σατράπαις (chapter 11, transmitted in *Vaticani Gr.* 81 and 1115; cf., e.g., W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident*, II [1966], 108); however, the author of the *Constitutum* strives to imitate the language of the fourth century.—Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska . . ." in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 188, adduced two examples of the use of the related words σατράπης, σατράπεις by Nicetas Choniates (132,17, 166,3, Bonn) with reference to the Serbian and Hungarian rulers, respectively; he added, "one could find many more examples of this usage," but provided none.—The occurrence of σατράπης in two works of ca. 1400, Manuel II's *Dialogue* (e.d. Trapp, cf. index s.v. "Bajeid I" and "Murad I") and Ἐπιδημία Μάλτα (e.g., J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 3 [Paris, 1831], 135, 161, 181) may be discounted; for one thing, the term designates sovereign foreign, including Ottoman, rulers; for another, both *Mazaris* and the *Dialogue* were known before 1818 to Hase, cf. note 74 *supra*; for Hase's quoting a passage containing σατράπης from the *Dialogue*, cf. his edition (note 74 *supra*), 322 note 3.

and eleventh; the identity of the narrator of the Fragments is unknown. I propose that from now on we retain only the first of these assumptions, and substitute the following statements for the remaining three: the original manuscript of the Fragments is not lost; it is Paris *Supplément Grec* 858; its date falls within two years, 1816–18; the identity of the narrator is known—he is Charles-Benoît Hase.

VI

The Fragments contain features unparalleled in the tenth century. Nothing, or next to nothing, for the historian's purpose can be safely inferred from them,¹²⁹ and such vagueness is a trait associated with documents of doubtful authenticity. On the other hand, every one of the Fragments' few factual elements either was available in Hase's time or is otherwise unattested. Several other parts of our text can be correlated with the state of learning about the year 1800, and particularly with the erudition of the Fragments' discoverer. Their vocabulary and contents tally with Charles-Benoît Hase's lexicographic strengths and weaknesses, with the range of his reading in classical and Byzantine authors, and with what was known in his day about the historical geography of the Black Sea, Byzantine *realia*, and the Byzantines' view of the world. The great deal of attention which the Fragments pay to snow-storms, to fourcubit deep snowdrifts, and to the frozen Dnieper—in a word, to the Russian winter—reflects a pre-Romantic, rather than Byzantine, sensibility, and just possibly echoes Napoleon's retreat from Moscow of 1812, an event whose hardships were not forgotten in Paris by 1818.

However, all this shows no more than that Hase could conceivably have written the Fragments. To go further, we need answers to two queries: was Charles-Benoît Hase in fact able himself to have composed the Fragments? and, if he was, why did he do so?

The first question consists of two parts, dealing, respectively, with Hase's ability to produce the Greek of our text, and with character traits that could have prompted him to this kind of action. His mastery of Greek of all epochs could be claimed on general grounds alone. After Vilhoison's death in 1805, and until approximately 1830, Hase was one of the three outstanding Hellenists of France and the only one to combine intimate knowledge of the classics with that of Byzantine and post-Byzantine authors.¹³⁰ Between 1810 and 1823, he amassed impressive credentials in the postclassical Greek field: he composed a preface to Johannes Lydus' *De Magistratibus* which remains exemplary to the present day; he edited Lydus' *De Ostentis*; he worked not only on Leo Diaconus, *De Velitatione Bellica*, *Timarion*, Psellus, and Manuel II's *Dialogues*, but also on excerpts from a Greek translation of the Moldavian Chronicle by Nicholas

¹²⁹ This phrase has been borrowed from Sir William Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* (1904), 178, who describes with brilliant insight the telltale traits of forged documents.

¹³⁰ Cf. Guigniaut, "Notice historique . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 272 (along with Boissonade and Letronne). Boissonade was at home among Byzantine authors, but did not excel in modern Greek.

Costin, dating from the seventeenth century.¹³¹ Hase's knowledge of modern Greek, acquired in his student days at Jena, was his principal, if unexpected, asset in gaining entrée to Parisian salons¹³² and by 1816 had earned him a post at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes.¹³³

Fortunately, we can go beyond generalities, for we have evidence of Hase's capacity to produce original texts in a mixture of classical, high style Byzantine, and *katharevusa* Greek. Thus, he appended the following facetious signatures to his letters, one to Saint-Martin, the other to Dureau de La Malle: 'Ο παιδείας ἀπάσης ἐστερημένος καὶ δυσπραγῆς ἐν μοναχοῖς Ἄσιος, ὁ οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τινος ὑπερφέρων, κατὰ δ' ἐκεῖνο φέρ(ων) τὰ δεύτερα, ἀλλ' ἀπανταχῇ πονήρως πράττων, καὶ δυσδαίμων, καὶ πάσης κακίας σωλήν,¹³⁴ and, in imitation of monocondyle script, δι' αἰῶνος ὁ σὸς ὁ καὶ coquin χρηματίσας¹³⁵ (cf. figs. 23 A and B). He also offered his own translation of a passage of Pliny's into Lydus' hypothetical Greek.¹³⁶

The other piece of evidence, which we have already quoted, is by far the more extensive and consists of excerpts, amounting to 177 pages, from Hase's secret Diary, composed almost entirely in this kind of Greek. The extracts from the Diary's full text are preserved in Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363 and were originally made by Johann Friedrich Dübner, who was the guardian of Hase's papers. Dübner was copied (and possibly further abridged) by Salomon Reinach in 1913, and this is the manuscript that we possess. As for Hase's original, it has either disappeared, or is preserved but remains to be identified, in some (East German?) archive.¹³⁷ Although its inaccessibility is regrettable, since the full text of the Diary might offer a new clue to the Fragments' authenticity, the excerpts alone will suffice for our purpose. They show the ease with which Hase

¹³¹ "Notice d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi, contenant une histoire inédite de Moldavie composée en Moldave par Nicolas Costin. . . ." *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. . . 11, 2 (1827), 274–394. Costin's text was ready by 1822: Hase to Böttiger, letter of April 28, 1822, in Kollautz, "Jacob. . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 290.

¹³² As a nation, Hase wrote to a friend in 1801, the French were easy to dazzle. "Comment? même le Grec moderne?" everyone exclaimed upon hearing that he knew that language. Cf. Heine, *Briefe*. . . , pp. VI, 64, and Kalitsunakis, "Ἀδαμάντιος. . ." 49–69, esp. 51 and 64 (both as in note 2 *supra*). In fact, the first person who provided Hase with a working recommendation—to Villosion—was the Greek Kodrikas, at that time dragoman of the Turkish Embassy in Paris, with whom Hase began to "rattle on" in modern Greek. Cf., e.g., Heine, *Briefe*. . . , 60. Hase ended up giving lessons in modern Greek to Villosion (to whom this arrangement afforded a delicate way of offering Hase a subsidy, since, as the latter himself gracefully acknowledged, Villosion knew modern Greek better than his teacher), cf. Heine, *Briefe*. . . , 60, 63, 71; Joret, *D'Ansse*. . . (as in note 2 *supra*), 422–24.

¹³³ Cf., e.g., Brunet de Presle, "M. Hase. . ." 317–26, esp. 321; Heine, *Briefe*. . . , p. VIII; Kollautz, "Jacob. . ." 290–91 and note 20 (all as in note 2 *supra*). At the École, Hase was in charge of modern Greek and palaeography.

¹³⁴ Cf. Paris *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises* 9115, p. 115. Dureau de la Malle wrote a *Géographie physique de la Mer Noire, de l'intérieur de l'Afrique et de la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1807). Hase owned this book; cf. the catalogue of books to be auctioned after his death, *Catalogue des livres. . . et des manuscrits anciens grecs et orientaux, des chartes, etc. . . composant la bibliothèque de feu M. C.-B. Hase*. . . (Paris, 1864), 72.

¹³⁵ Cf. Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 925, fol. 8v.

¹³⁶ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 859, fol. 64r (Hase's manuscript of his edition of Lydus' *De Ostentis*). Cf. Hase's printed edition, *Joannis Laurentii Lydi de Ostentis Quae Supersunt* (Paris, 1823), 34–35. Hase offered this translation as a partial substitution for a lacuna in Lydus' text. He did it *imitans. . . cum usum peculiarem saec. VI, tum maxime proprietatem, interdum etiam stuporem Lydi*. The imitation is successful.

¹³⁷ For details, on Hase's Diary and its fate, cf. Appendix III.

handled his Greek or shaped it to express the intimate details of his life as a lover, a gourmet, a scholar, and a catty member of the academic and library milieus of Paris.¹³⁸

An intimate encounter with a *fille de joie* was entered συνουσία σὺν τῇ κόρῃ τῆς διόδου. For a refined technical detail in the same area of endeavor a dual was used: συνεγενόμην γυναιξὶ δυσὶν, ὄλισβον ἐχούσαιν. Fear of the consequences attending upon συνουσία appeared, classically enough, as μέγας φόβος περὶ ἀφροδισιακοῦ πάθους, but the contraption to prevent the latter is denoted by a neologism, ἐκσπασμάτιον τῶν Γάλλων.¹³⁹

"I ate at the Véfour" is rendered by βεφουροδειπνήσας; "oysters and beefsteak" by ὄστρεα καὶ πύφεκ; "calf's liver sauté" by ἡπαρ μόσχου ἀλλόμενον; "in the *Journal des débats*" by ἐν τῇ ἐφημερίδι τῶν λογομαχιῶν; "tricolore" by φλάμουρον τριχρώματον; "guardes mobiles" by κινητὴ φυλακὴ; the law against *le cumul*, or the combining of salaries for several positions held simultaneously, by νόμος κατ' ἐπισωρεύσεως; "ministers" by μεσάζωντες (this was a Byzantinist's felicitous choice); "senators" by δημογέροντες; and Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* by Παναγία τῶν Παρισίων (Hase found it depressing).¹⁴⁰ On occasion, Hase's—like our narrator's—Greek seems to have contained impurities. Thus, under September 24, 1814, he wrote: 'Ο Ναπολέων [Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte must be meant here] σφόδρα ἔκλαυσε περὶ πενίας· μὴ λαβεῖν τὴν μητέρα [Queen Hortense] τοὺς [here is the slip—he should have written τὰς] τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας φρ.¹⁴¹

The foregoing quotation shows the value of Hase's secret Diary for the history of his time, and one day some student of nineteenth-century scholarship will exploit it in its entirety and reveal Hase's complaints against Tischendorf on account of the latter's δεισιδαιμονία καὶ προπέτεια ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, or his entry on the ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἀμαθοῦς Abbé Migne.¹⁴² For us, the importance of the contents of Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363 lies in the light which they throw on Hase's character, and on the habits prevalent not only in *le monde* but also in the scholarly world in which he moved. Amorous exploits and love of money aside, Hase's was a rather permissive world by our standards. In this world, Champollion the Younger secretly sold papyri and parchments of the Bibliothèque Nationale; a "frightful accusation" was made against Champollion the Elder, who reputedly had a small, clandestine side door through which he en-

¹³⁸ Even as a young man Hase liked to make notes in Greek, not only when he wrote down his secrets, but also when he summarized lectures in history which he attended in Jena; cf. Guigniaut, "Notice historique. . .," 251; Heine, *Briefe*. . . , V (both references as in note 2 *supra*).

¹³⁹ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, pp. 11 (October 4 and 5, 1814), 16 (August 30, 1819), 17 (August 8, 1821); cf. figs. 25–26.

¹⁴⁰ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, pp. 18 (April 7, 1822), 11 (April 2, 1814), 176 (July 29, 1863), 26 (May 15, 1826), 43 (July 29, 1830), 138 (February 26, 1848), 140 (June 13 and 26, September 19, 1848), 51 (April 26, 1831).

¹⁴¹ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 11 (September 24, 1814); cf. fig. 25. Other examples of mistakes in Greek in the Diary: pp. 6 (February 4, 1813): ἀνέριον; 32 (August 9, 1829): ἐπάνοδος ἐλλεινός, κυανέω; 68 (February 8, 1835): οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν ἐπεσθαι αὐτὰς (as in Latin); 122 (November 20, 1843): ἐν τ ῷ ἀκροάσει; 127 (January 6, 1845): προτιθήσεται νόμος. Of course, some of these mistakes may have been committed by copyists of the Diary.

¹⁴² Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 105 (February 9, 1841); cf. also p. 111 (February 18, 1842): ἤλαθε καὶ ὁ ἀνόητος Κώστας [= Tischendorf] λέγων μωρὰ πολλὰ περὶ ἀφιερώσεως τῆς Κ.Δ. πρὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Παρισίων; on Migne, cf. p. 170 (January 12, 1861).

tered into the manuscript section of the same library;¹⁴³ one Fétis had stolen πολυαριθμητά βιβλία ἡμῖν τε [Bibliothèque Nationale] καὶ ἐν Μαζαρινικῇ [Bibliothèque Mazarine]; Rochette, Hase's collaborator on Leo, was accused of doing the same with some medals (in the Cabinet des Médailles?); Quatremère (called Τετραμήτωρ in the Diary) was angry at the Library when he was required to return thirty-seven manuscripts he had kept for thirty years; Hase himself and E. Miller, the celebrated Hellenist and palaeographer, both employees of the Library, cut out, or intended to cut (κόψομεν), folio 119 from a Greek manuscript of Ephraem Syrus; and one Chrétin was rumored to have forged inscriptions of the city of Nerac.¹⁴⁴ A member of such a milieu did not have the same inhibitions which prevent present-day scholars from producing forgeries. And Hase did not have to run the risk of being exposed immediately by his peers, since by 1818 he had few, if any, equals in the knowledge of Byzantine texts.

Inhibition and motivation are two sides of the same coin. Whoever deals with Hase's motivations—the subject of the second query raised at the beginning of the present section—enters a murky area, and it is best to make our stay there as brief as possible.

Hase was an outsider who made good against great odds in foreign and difficult surroundings. Success under such circumstances engenders insecurity, defiance, and hybris. Today, we are convinced that Hase succeeded because he deserved to succeed; he himself was not sure of this, at least not at the beginning of his Parisian career. At first he wondered what his French protectors saw in him and attributed his salvation to his knowledge of modern Greek.¹⁴⁵ Even in his mature years, he was haunted by visions of "Nemesis" and imminent fall, for he had been "too lucky."¹⁴⁶ His success endured, however; gradually Hase must have come to believe that it was due not only to the gullibility of his new milieu but also to his own excellence. Yet, in his own mind this remained a moot point; consequently, people around him had to be tested and defied. Hence, the young Hase's signing one of his drawings *Rubens pinxit*;¹⁴⁷ hence his philological jokes made at parties at the expense of his hosts;¹⁴⁸ hence his later flaunting of his concubine in the face of one of his colleagues.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, pp. 55–56 (March 22 and May 9, 1832), 106, 107 (June 5 and 13, 1841), 137 (February 9 and 10, 1848); cf. p. 139 (March 11, 1848) ἀντίγραφα λείπονται.

¹⁴⁴ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, pp. 61, 67 (July? 24, 1833 and November 12, 1834), 53, 54 (November 10, 1831 and January 21, 1832), 145 (November 13, 1849), 110 (January 12, 1842), 69, 71, 73 (April 2, October 8, 1835 and January 26, 1836).

¹⁴⁵ Heine, *Briefe* . . . (as in note 2 *supra*), 64.

¹⁴⁶ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 62 (December 2 and 10, 1833): ἐφοβούμεν δ' αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, πεπεισμένοι ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἔτει πάθω [sic] μεγάλην τινὰ καταστροφὴν, ὡς ὦν ἔγαν εὐτυχῆς. Dübner continues in his summary: Und diese Gedanken öfter, und Furcht von der "Nemesis;" wieder: φοβούμενος πῶς περὶ Νεμέσεως.

¹⁴⁷ Drawing in the letter to Wilhelm Erdmann dated October 12, 1801; cf. Heine, *Briefe* . . . , 34. On tall stories (*Mythen*) which Hase and Erdmann in their youth loved to tell to their philistine hosts, cf. Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . . , 87, 90 (both references as in note 2 *supra*).

¹⁴⁸ Hase to Erdmann, letter of 15 Brumaire 1801; cf. Heine, *Briefe* . . . , 73; repeated in C. Pitollet, "Le Père Hase . . .," 45 (both references as in note 2 *supra*).

¹⁴⁹ Story of Marquis de Belleval (time: about 1860), told in Pitollet, "Le Père Hase . . .," 55, and repeated in Kollautz, "Jacob . . .," 291–92 (both references as in note 2 *supra*): "ce n'est pas ma femme, Mossieur, c'est ma concubine!"—Cf. Philipp Anton Déthier, *La main divine dans l'histoire, ou essai pour débayer cette science* . . . (Constantinople, 1869), 4: "feu M. le Professeur Haase [sic] . . . sur une

Hybris may have followed upon defiance. As he was the best, he could afford the Fragments at the expense of these *messieurs pétropolitains* for whom he held little respect throughout his life. They had to rely on a Westerner for information about their own past and they deserved scorn for their self-centeredness because, as he wrote Miller in 1848, they “ne s’intéressent qu’aux ‘Pōs.’”¹⁵⁰ As early as 1814, Hase had a low opinion of Russian officers. And all that Dübner’s summary of Hase’s Diary says about the Russian Minister of Education, Norov, an amateur scholar and one of Tischendorf’s protectors, was that he had a “kalmukoid” face.¹⁵¹ Rumjancev may have been naive; still, he was the Chancellor of the Empire, hence an important man. To ingratiate oneself further with such a person—no matter by what means—and to flex one’s own philological muscle at the same time must have been a great temptation.

We know—or, at least, have good grounds to suspect—that Hase yielded to such a temptation on at least three occasions. The first of them was provided by the city of Surož, which he discussed in the memorandum, by now familiar to us, included in the letter to Rumjancev of 1816. There, he made use of an unpublished text, preserved “in our Library,” that is, in Paris, in a “manuscript of the letters of Patriarch Athanasius I,” in which an “otherwise unknown” writer (of the fourteenth century?), “Maxime Catélianus,” spoke of having landed in a Crimean town called Sarat.¹⁵² This piece of recondite information could only have come from a source that has since disappeared, since no manuscript of Patriarch Athanasius I’s correspondence (or, for that matter, his other writings) available to us, either in Paris or elsewhere, contains a letter by “Catélianus,”¹⁵³ and Catélianus himself remains as unknown in our day as he was in Hase’s.¹⁵⁴

demande qui lui fut faite dans les salons d’une dame distinguée de Paris, qui s’informait, pourquoi il ne s’était pas marié, donna la réponse singulière que, pour lui, s’attacher à une personne de préférence . . . cela lui semblait une injustice pour les autres personnes du beau sexe.” I wish to thank Professor Cyril Mango for providing me with this passage.

¹⁵⁰ E. Miller, review of L. Delisle’s *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale . . .* I–II (1868–1874) in *Journal des savants* (February 1876), 104–105: Hase advised Miller to look for Byzantine *inedita* in the Vatican Library: “quel bonheur, si vous pouviez y découvrir quelque fragment inédit où il s’agirait des Tauroscythes, des Petchénègues (Πατρινάκται), des peuplades Slaves au Nord du Pont-Euxin, car ces messieurs pétropolitains ne s’intéressent qu’aux ‘Pōs.’” The relevant passage angered, and was excerpted by, Vasil’evskij, “Zapiska . . .” in *Trudy*, II (as in Appendix I), 144 note 1.

¹⁵¹ In 1814 Hase met again with Wilhelm Erdmann, the friend of his youth. Since their parting, Erdmann had become a Russian officer, and entered Paris with the Allies. Erdmann himself recalls that Hase told him in the Café de Mille Colannes, frequented by Russian officers: “My dear friend, it is a terrible thing for me to see you among those Scythians and Sarmatians”; cf. *Unsre Hauschronik . . .* (note 2 *supra*), 104. Cf. fig. 25 for the entry of April 2, 1814 in Hase’s Diary, concerning eating oysters and beefsteak with Erdmann. On Norov, see *Paris Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 166 (March 15, 1859).

¹⁵² Hase’s letter to Rumjancev, 5; cf. Appendix II B and fig. 19.

¹⁵³ To make sure, I leafed through *Parisinus Gr.* 137 (and *Paris Suppl. Gr.* 971, *Carton* 114, no. 11, pp. 107–57, containing La Porte-du Theil’s extracts from Athanasius’ correspondence in that manuscript); *Parisini Gr.* 1351A, 1356, 1357A, 1388; *Paris Suppl. Gr.* 516; through the xerox copy of *Vaticanus Gr.* 2219; and I consulted the modern description of *Neapolitanus Gr.* 64 (II B 26) [= the beginning of *Parisinus Gr.* 137] in G. Pierleoni, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, I (1962), 188–90. Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot, an authority on Athanasius’ correspondence, did not encounter the name Maxime Catélianus in manuscripts of Athanasius’ letters (letter of June 20,

According to this elusive writer, Sarat, which he reached after suffering shipwreck—only to go to Caffa the next day—was “une ville . . . située sur un rocher à peu de distance de la mer.”¹⁵⁵ This unknown Crimean Sarat, Hase proposed, was identical with the Sarat of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the same as the modern Crimean town of Sudak. By a happy coincidence Hase had only to turn over page 127 of the book by our acquaintance Mrs. Guthrie—the very page quoted in his memorandum to Rumjancev—to find the following description of the site of Sudak: “There are now only some ruins to be seen of this once-flourishing city, with the remains of an old fort . . . placed on a mountain close by the shore, which seems to have been constructed by the Genoese, whose antient works inclose a large space, and run all the way up to the top of the rock.”¹⁵⁶ Hase, I believe, did turn to page 128 of Mrs. Guthrie’s book, and the close agreement between the description of Sudak by a modern eyewitness and that given by “Catélianus” of Sarat-Sudak must have heightened his confidence, for he asked the Count in the next sentence of his memorandum: “V.E. ne pense-t-Elle pas qu’aux environs de cette dernière ville [i.e., Caffa] il n’y a guères que Soudak à qui conviennent toutes ces particularités [i.e., those pertaining to “Catélianus” Sarat]?”

Incidentally, Catélianus’ unattested Crimean town of Sarat, which conveniently confirmed the hypothetical locale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ attested, but otherwise not identified Sarat, reflected Hase’s own scholarly thinking, not that of our time. In spite of the fact that Constantine mentions that name in close connection with the name “Kherson,” modern scholars place the Emperor’s Sarat not in the Crimea but in present-day Rumania, and identify it not with a town but with the river Sereth.¹⁵⁷

In a letter to the Metropolitan of Kiev Evgenij (Bolxovitinov), dated January 17, 1821, Count Rumjancev himself informs us of another dubious find by Hase: “After his return from Genoa, Milan and Venice to Paris, Mr. Hase writes to me that he found only two hitherto unpublished manuscripts in the famous libraries of these places: 1) The Embassy of Andronicus III Palaeologus the Younger to Trebizond in 1338, which contains geographical information on the Abasgians and Circassians, and Mr. Hase concludes that this information may have some value particularly for Russian history”¹⁵⁸

1970). In addition, Mlle M.-L. Concasty informs me that the card catalogue of authors established for internal use at the *Cabinet des manuscrits* of the Bibliothèque Nationale does not contain the name.

¹⁵⁴ The family name is known from post-Byzantine times: cf. Dionysius Catelcianus (Κατηλιανός), d. 1629, Bishop of Cythera. A number of Dionysius Catelcianus’ letters (including one to Maximus Margunius) were published by Joh. Lamius (Giovanni Lami) in *Deliciae Eruditorum* (Florence, 1740), 62–104. The same (?) Dionysius, this time spelled “Catilianus,” is mentioned in Montfaucon’s *Palaeographia Graeca* (1708), 93, 98, a work which Hase quoted in his edition of Leo, pp. 188–89.

¹⁵⁵ Hase to Rumjancev, 5; cf. Appendix II B and fig. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Guthrie, *A Tour* . . . (as in note 88 *supra*), 128.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins *et al.*, eds., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, II, Commentary* (by G. Moravcsik) (1962), 155, and Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues* (as in Appendix I [c], 35–36.—M. G. Nystazopoulou, ‘Η ἐν τῇ Ταυοικῇ πόλει Σουγδαία . . . (Athens, 1965)—the latest work on Sugdaea-Surož-Sudak—is understandably silent on Sarat and “Catélianus.”

¹⁵⁸ *Perepiska* . . . (as in note 25 *supra*), 40.

An embassy of 1338 is unknown to historians of Trebizond or of Andronicus III.¹⁵⁹ However, a long passage in Nicephorus Gregoras referring to the marital irregularities of Basil II, Emperor of Trebizond (1332-40) and son-in-law of Andronicus III, could have given an imaginative reader the idea that at about that time an embassy might well have been sent to Trebizond by the irate father-in-law.¹⁶⁰ Hase not only read Gregoras and described his manuscripts before 1819, but declared in the Preface of the Paris edition of Leo that he had several unpublished books of Gregoras "ready for print."¹⁶¹ It is noteworthy, however, that when he discussed the very "Trapezuntine" passage of Gregoras (which he looked up in *Parisinus Graecus* 1723) in his letter to Fallmerayer of September 30, 1823, he failed to inform that historian of the Empire of Trebizond about his find, made only three years earlier.¹⁶²

The last piece of information about a remarkable project on which Hase was embarked not later than 1819-20 comes from Academician Krug, Hase's assiduous correspondent and intermediary between him and Count Rumjancev. In a note on works in the field of history that had appeared or were about to appear in Russia between the years 1815 and 1820, Krug announced that "Professor Hase in Paris" was to publish a volume containing several Greek and Latin *inedita* concerning the history of Eastern Europe, Russia, and the Pontic seashore from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Among these *inedita* there was to be a rhymed chronicle, entitled *Libri duo de Bellis hierosolymitanis, versibus politicis graecobarbaris*. This chronicle, contained in *Cod. Reg. Graecus* 2898, dealt with, among other things, the partition of Byzantium by the Latins, the Empire of Trebizond, and the Genoese trade in the Black Sea.¹⁶³ We must assume that Krug received his information from Hase, either directly or through Count Rumjancev. Hase's announced volume of *inedita* never appeared, but, luckily for our purpose, we are on firm ground with *Parisinus Graecus* 2898. The manuscript does in fact exist, and does contain a slip, in Du Cange's handwriting, which says in part: *Anonymi de Bellis Hierosolymitanis Libri II versibus politicis*—its identity is thus established beyond doubt. However, the manuscript consists of nothing beyond the Greek translation of Boccaccio's *Theseis* and the Chronicle of Morea (this is the poem "On the Jerusalem War"),¹⁶⁴ and neither of these works says anything concerning the Pontic

¹⁵⁹ It is unknown both to past historians of Trebizond, and to the most recent one, Dr. Antony Bryer, who has been working for more than a decade on the history of the Pontic area and with whom I discussed the matter. The "embassy of 1338" is not mentioned in Ursula V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* . . . (1965), pp. 150-51 (chapter on Andronicus' relations with the Empire of Trebizond).

¹⁶⁰ Nic. Gregoras, *Hist.*, XI:8:1 = I, 548, 24-549, 19, Bonn. Basil II married the (illegitimate) daughter of Andronicus III Palaeologus in September 1335, had a son by his mistress in October 1337, married that mistress in July 1338, and died in April 1340. Cf. Michael Panaretos, *Περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. Lampsidis, *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου*, 22 (1958), 64-65.

¹⁶¹ On descriptions of *Vaticani Gr.* 116, 1085, and 1086, made before 1815, cf. Hase to E. Miller, letter dated December 6, 1848, in *Journal des savants* (as in note 150 *supra*), 104; description of Gregoras' Treatises on the astrolabe (*Paris Suppl. Gr.* 13) in *Paris Suppl. Gr.* 1003, fols. 15^r-16^r; Gregoras ready for print: Preface, Paris edition, p. XIX = pp. XXX-XXXI, Bonn.

¹⁶² Cf. Kollautz, "Jacob . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 306.

¹⁶³ Ph. Krug, *Forschungen in der älteren Geschichte Russlands*, II (1848), 742.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. description and mention of this manuscript in J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea* . . . (1904, reprint 1967), pp. XVI-XVII, and E. Follieri, *Il Teseida neogreco, libro I*, (1959), 3 and note 1.

regions (a part of which belonged to the Russian Empire) or the Genoese Black Sea trade (which fell within the scope of Count Rumjancev's interest in the mediaeval history of the Crimea).¹⁶⁵

Even if we should ascribe the Trapezuntine embassy of 1338 and the Genoese trade in the Chronicle of Morea to a misunderstanding on the part of Rumjancev or Krug, "Maxime Catélianus" and the Crimean town of Sarat remain embarrassing, for we are informed of these in Hase's own handwriting. All three pieces of information are connected with the *messieurs pétropolitains* and all date from the years 1816–20. Within such a context, our Fragments would be the most extravagant of Hase's practical jokes.

This is not to say that the usual considerations could not have played a part in the deed which I am attributing to Hase. He loved money and honors, and the tactful (and innocent) Count Rumjancev provided him with both: with seventeen thousand rubles, all told,¹⁶⁶ through the intermediary of Academician Krug, and with a St. Vladimir medal, if only of the fourth class¹⁶⁷—a decoration apparently bestowed upon foreign scholars, among others, for their services to the Russian cause. Yet, Hase could as easily have earned both the money and the medal without the Fragments.

VII

By now, two models stand side by side, both explaining the origin and the meaning of Hase's Fragments. In the first model—implied rather than expounded here—their discoverer appears as a scrupulous scholar. In 1816 Count Rumjancev asked Hase to search for unpublished sources pertaining to early Russian history. Hase made such a search, chanced upon the Fragments in a late tenth-century manuscript, since lost or unidentified, and, at a late stage

¹⁶⁵ On Rumjancev's interest in the history of the Crimean Tartars and in the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea, cf. E. E. [= A. A.] Kunik's Preface to Krug's *Forschungen*... (as in note 163 *supra*), I (1848), p. CLXXII, repeated in *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščeniia*, 65 (1850), pt. V, p. 9. Cf. also Krug to Rumjancev, no date (Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A.8.19, no number): report of a conversation with Köhler on excavations that could be carried out in the Crimea and financed by the Count. More than forty tumuli awaited the spade there.

¹⁶⁶ Ikonnikov, *Opyt*... (as in Appendix I [b]) I, 1, p. 200 and note 5. Unfortunately, this statement cannot be corroborated, since Ikonnikov's reference to *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščeniia*, 49 (1846), pt. V, p. 56 is faulty, the last page of part V being 50. It is possible, however, to account for 9000 francs and rubles of that sum: 3000 francs for Leo were mentioned by Hase himself (cf. p. 136 *supra*); 6000 rubles (?) were paid to him by Rumjancev in advance for an edition of Psellus which never appeared; cf. Rumjancev to Krug, letter of July 16, 1818 (Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder R.A.6.3, no. 53, p. 2): "je suis bien affligé de ne voir point paroître Leon le Diacre et de n'avoir pas reçu de réponse à ma lettre à Mr. Hase auquel j'avois fait remettre les six mille francs [sic] qu'il desiroit avoir pour faire l'édition de Psellus." Cf. Rumjancev to Krug, letter of August 2, 1818 (*ibidem*, folder R.A.6.4, no. 54, p. 2): "je m'afflige beaucoup je ne vous le cache pas d'être sans nouvelles de Mr. Hase [sic], il ne m'a pas accusé la reception des six mille R. [thus: rubles] que je lui ai fait passer avant que de quitter Petersbourg pour l'édition de Psellus. et l'apparition de Leon le Diacre, est trop désirée pour être retardée si longtemps au reste tout cela Monsieur n'est que pour nous deux."

¹⁶⁷ The medal was bestowed upon Hase by His Majesty for his edition of Leo; cf. *Syn Otečestva* (of 1820?), 82 (in a review of Popov's translation, cf. note 4 *supra*; I read the review in Lenin Library, *Otd. rukopisej*, folder *Polt.* 33.39); Ikonnikov, *Opyt*... (as in Appendix I [b]) I, 1, p. 162 note 1. Hase asked Rumjancev to obtain a Vladimir medal for his assistant during the work on Leo, Chardon de la Rochette (the one who was to be φεύγων κλοπῆς in 1832; cf. p. 169 and note 144 *supra*). The Count wisely refused.

in the printing of his Leo Diaconus, inserted his find into the notes to this author. For all its importance, the meaning of his discovery for early Russian history—if indeed it bears upon Russian history at all—remains mysterious.

The second model is the one which we have nearly finished constructing here. According to it, Hase wrote the Fragments piecemeal—the third one as an afterthought, which enabled him to introduce a northern (read: Russian) ruler, whose absence struck him when he was introducing the second Fragment, and to improve the image of the Russes by changing them from attacking into protecting barbarians. He wrote the Fragments on the basis of what he knew. By 1820 he was sent, perhaps with the assistance of Count Rumjancev, on a mission to Italy “à l’effet de compléter mes matériaux pour la continuation de l’histoire byzantine”;¹⁶⁸ he must have started with this subject at an earlier date. His letter to Rumjancev and other letters attest that in 1816 and 1817 he was engaged in the study of the mediaeval geography of the Crimea. As for the Greek authors whose phrases are blended into the Fragments or provide parallels to them, Hase knew them all, and recalled their idioms.¹⁶⁹

This is certainly true of Thucydides, the narrator’s principal literary model. About January 1818 Hase quoted him, including Book Two, in his lecture notes; under February 13, 1813 he made the following entry in his Diary: Ναπολέων τοῦ Θουκυδίδους ἤρξατο.¹⁷⁰ Thus, a few years before 1818 Hase began to teach the Athenian to Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, then nine years old, and he may have continued this task until March 7, 1815, the day on which he gave the last lesson to the boy prince and to his younger brother, the future Napoleon III.¹⁷¹ In the course of the instruction Hase must have gone through Book Two, with which the Peloponnesian War proper begins, and have parsed its sentences one by one. No wonder that by about 1816–18 he shared with the Fragments’ narrator an intimate knowledge of Thucydidean vocabulary and phraseology.

According to another entry in the Diary, Hase returned a copy of Stobaeus to his amanuensis Sypsomo on September 5, 1817.¹⁷² He quoted Agathias repeatedly, and Ptolemy’s *Apotelesmatica* occasionally, in his own notes to Leo Diaconus. As for Leo, Psellus, and the authors of *Timarion* and *De Velitatione Bellica*, by 1818 Hase had printed, or said that he was about to print,¹⁷³ all or

¹⁶⁸ Ikonnikov, *Opyt*... (as in Appendix I [b]) I, 1, pp. 200–201, asserts that Rumjancev sent Hase to Genoa, Milan, and Venice; Hase himself said that he visited these cities at the expense of the (French) government; Hase to Böttiger, letter of April 28, 1822, in Kollautz, “Jacob...” (note 2 *supra*), 290.

¹⁶⁹ In the Preface to Leo, Hase offered the following self-appraisal: there was no Greek author, whether sacred or profane, of any consequence, who wrote between the time of Theodosius and the Fall of the Empire, *quem non ita tractarim, ut non aliqua eius pars in memoria mea penitus insideret* (Paris ed., p. XVIII = p. XXIX, Bonn).

¹⁷⁰ Notes: Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1347, fols. 172^r and 185^r (for date, cf. fol. 185^v); cf. fol. 201^r. Diary: Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 6, cf. fig. 24. Other entries on lessons given to one or both Napoleons (τοῖν ἀνάκτοιν, τῷ ἀνάκτει) on pp. 5 (September 23, 1812), 7 (February 24 and June 27, 1813), 8 (July 29, 1813), 9 (March 28, 1814).

¹⁷¹ Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 12: ἡ τελευταία ἀκρόασις παρὰ τοῖν ἀνάκτοιν, ἀπερχομένων.

¹⁷² Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 14.

¹⁷³ This was the case with Psellus; cf. Hase’s Preface to the Paris edition, pp. XVII and XIX (= pp. XXVIII, XXX, Bonn) (*habeo...prelo...parata Michaelis Pselli Annales*); cf. Rumjancev to Evgenij, letter of September 13, 1817: “Now Hase, upon my request, will approach the printing of Psellus and George Hamartolus”; letter of August 17, 1820: Hase promised that the edition of Psellus

some of their works. The excerpt from *Palatinus Graecus* 356 is a Hase autograph anterior to 1815. And obviously he was familiar with his own Diary.

In the course of composing the text of the Fragments, Hase, who in later years was able to unmask the notorious forger of Greek manuscripts, Simonides,¹⁷⁴ and consequently was aware of the pitfalls to which a falsifier is exposed in his work, proceeded with caution. He must have put a number of alternative formulations down on paper. Plainly, he could not use all of them in his final version. However, he did not reject the discarded wordings outright; they reappeared as the mysterious manuscript's own variant readings in the margins of his 1819 edition and thus lent a cachet of genuineness to his find.¹⁷⁵ The Fragments' unique words are absent both from the index to Leo Diaconus and from the New Stephanus, since the man who coined these words himself was not apt to register them as *hapax legomena*, either because he was not aware of having produced *hapaxes* or out of scholarly *délicatesse*.

The actual inspiration for Hase's manuscript *qui fuit Bibliothecae Regiae* was one or both of the fourteenth-century *Palatini Graeci* 356 and 129, which had actually been in the Library until 1815 and which Hase described in detail in Paris *Supplément Grec* 811, folios 206^r–228^r and 151^r–152^v, respectively.¹⁷⁶

If Hase wrote the Fragments himself, it follows that they mean what he said they meant, and that his own commentary provides the standard by which we should judge solutions to the Fragments' puzzles put forward by modern scholars since 1848. Hase's own, and therefore authoritative, story is this:¹⁷⁷ the narrator of the Fragments was a Greek; his direct subjects, too, were Greeks; the ruler of the north was Vladimir the Great; the Fragments are autograph; the narrator wrote—or at least made his journey to the Dnieper region—toward the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century, in any case before 1015, the year of Vladimir's death; the most likely date for the narrator's journey is 991 or thereabout, because that year meets the requirements of the astronomical data contained in the first Fragment and is, moreover,

would be ready by the end of the year; cf. *Perepiska* . . . (as in note 25 *supra*), 8, 34. Hase himself hoped to keep his promise: Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 104 (June 1, 1820): Will in der Imprimerie Royale den Psellus anfangen lassen. Psellus never appeared, except for some excerpts published, on the basis of Hase's papers, by E. Miller in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens Grecs*, I (Paris, 1875), 3–99.—At an earlier date, Hase described writings of Psellus contained in *Palatinus Gr.* 356 and Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 249; cf. Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 811, fols. 210^r, 211^r–212^v, 216^v–217^v, 219^r–^v and 1003, fol. 307^r.
¹⁷⁴ Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . ., 109; for a similar story, cf. *Le Courrier du dimanche* of March 27, 1864 (both references as in note 2 *supra*).

¹⁷⁵ Hase's corrections of the Fragments' itacisms (ἐκπηδόντες to ἐκπηδῶντες, ἐωρούμενος to αἰωρούμενος, Μεισῶν to Μισῶν) look especially convincing. Yet, this is the very kind of error to which he drew particular attention when describing Leo's manuscript: Paris ed., p. XI = p. XXII, Bonn.

¹⁷⁶ Hase's description of *Palatinus Gr.* 356 duly registers letters of Phalaris, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus and Saint Basil as entries following one upon another (in places 12, 13 and 14, respectively); cf. Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 811, fol. 207^v–208^r. In his description of *Palatinus Gr.* 129, excerpts from Themistius and Isocrates are mentioned one after another, cf. *ibid.*, fol. 151^v.

¹⁷⁷ Hase's own views on the Fragments' meaning can best be inferred from his remarks in the margins of the Paris edition and from his index to Leo. Three examples shall suffice here: cf. the marginal remark, Paris ed., p. 254C, omitted from the Bonn ed., and the index to Leo *s.v. Graeci*, 299 = 589: *Epistola Graeci cuiusdam, saec. XI circa Danaprim iter facientis*. Cf. further Hase's index *s.vv. codex*, 291 = 578: *c. a Graeco aliquo notis autographis . . . locupletatus*; *Russi*, 318 = 615: *Russorum (si de illis agitur in epistola anonymi saec. X aut XI) aequitas et iustitia in subditos*.

close to the taking of Kherson in 989, an event with which Hase connected the Fragments; in his original conception, prior to the writing of the third Fragment, the barbarians who had once been just were the Russes; in the final conception Russes were the protecting barbarians; the other barbarians may have been Pečenegs; barbarian *razzias* occurred in the Crimea; Maurokastron was in the Crimea; Klemata was a city on that peninsula, and Borion, a village near the banks of the Dnieper.¹⁷⁸

The first model for the Fragments' origins and meaning has been accepted in every study devoted to this text; the second, by no one, at least not in so many words. For it appears that one scholar expressed doubt as to the Fragments' authenticity, but did so only in an indirect fashion. In his *History of Byzantine Literature*, Karl Krumbacher spoke of the "unsolved puzzle" of the Fragments' manuscript, of the "somewhat mysterious information" Hase gave about that manuscript, and of the "remarkably skillful and even humoristically tinged" language of the Fragments.¹⁷⁹ On another occasion, he was more explicit. He referred, using spaced lettering and an exclamation point, to the Fragments' description of "a snowstorm in the interior of Russia"—a natural phenomenon, he added, known to modern readers through two of Leo Tolstoj's stories—called this description a "nordisch-winterliches Stimmungsbild," and went on to discuss the "remarkable report" of the Gothic Toparch, not without drawing the reader's attention to the fact that all efforts, including his own, to rediscover the manuscript of the Fragments had utterly failed.¹⁸⁰ This was saying as much as irony would permit. However, those who did not wish to hear Krumbacher's gentle hint disregarded it, or took his humor at face value.¹⁸¹

But neither the impressive number of scholars supporting the Fragments' authenticity nor Krumbacher's different stand on the matter should determine our choice between the two models presented here; that choice must rest on the arguments which each model is able to muster on its behalf. Before Mrs. Guthrie's *Tour* entered the discussion of our text, the strongest argument in support of the conventional view of the Fragments was the occurrence in them of the name Maurokastron, independently attested in a twelfth-century manuscript. Now that we can invoke Mrs. Guthrie to explain that occurrence, the

¹⁷⁸ If Hase followed Mrs. Guthrie's information and itinerary as closely as I believe he did, Borion should be the Berislav of her map (cf. fig. 28), even though Berislav was on the right bank of the Dnieper and Borion should have been on the left. Mrs. Guthrie's Letter XII was sent "From Bereslave, at the Traiectus Crassi, on the Borysthenes." This was the point at which her party crossed the river, in order to proceed to Perekop: "The small town of Bereslave, which stands on this pass, has nothing to recommend it but its fine view of the Dnieper, which we crossed here in a floating wooden bridge; cf. *A Tour* . . . (as in note 88 *supra*), 43 and 45." I imagine the route taken (or intended) by the Fragments' narrator to have been Berislav-Karasubazar-Balaklava.

¹⁷⁹ *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd ed., 1897), 268–69.—Two scholars, Vasiliev, *The Goths* . . . 120, and Levčenko, "*K voprosu* . . .," 292 (as in Appendix I, [b] and [a], respectively), touched upon the question of the Fragments' authenticity by firmly rejecting any doubts that they were genuine.

¹⁸⁰ Review of Westberg's *Die Fragmente* . . . , in *BZ*, 10 (1901), 657–58.

¹⁸¹ Westberg, *Die Fragmente* . . . (as in Appendix I), 12–13, quoted from a letter which Krumbacher wrote to him in 1898: "The way in which Hase mentions this manuscript [the lost manuscript of the Fragments] always struck me as peculiar, and I made a gentle hint to this effect [in the *History of Byzantine Literature*]." This quotation does not reappear in the parallel passage of Westberg's Russian reworking of *Die Fragmente* . . . ; cf. *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 15 (1908), 82–83.

strongest argument in defense of the Fragments' authenticity is simply the honest scholar's assumption that a colleague—like everyone—is innocent unless proven guilty. The strongest argument in support of the view suggested here is the makeup of Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, with the peculiarities of the Fragments' language, sources, and conceptual framework serving as corroborative evidence.

Folios 315^r and 347^r–351^r of Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, Hase's letter to Count Rumjancev, his familiarity with Mrs. Guthrie's and Müller's books, the unusual scholarly information with which he repeatedly provided the Count, and the Diary of Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363 create a strong case for Hase's authorship of the Fragments, and I confess that anything short of the appearance of the mediaeval manuscript containing them will keep alive my doubts as to their tenth-century date. The proposition that the Fragments are a modern work, if accepted, will simplify the study of mediaeval Russian history by removing from its pages an illusory Russian protectorate over the Crimea and from its sources a conundrum which has something to do with Russia but nothing to do with the Middle Ages.

APPENDIX I

A Bibliographical Note

A *bibliographie raisonnée* of the older literature on *Toparcha Gothicus* is to be found in the following three works, which are also basic studies on the subject: V. G. Vasil'evskij, "Zapiska grečeskogo toparxa," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniija*, 185 (June 1876), 368–434 (reprinted in that author's *Trudy*, II [1912], 136–212); F. Westberg, *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Gothicus (Anonymus Tauricus) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert* [= *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, VIII^e Série, *ist.-filolog. otdel.*, 5, 2] (1901) (reprints the Greek text); *idem*, "Zapiska Gotskogo Toparxa," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 15 (1908), 71–132, 227–86. For mere bibliographies, consult M. E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo, I. Storici profani* (Naples, 1956), 157, and G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I (2nd ed.; 1958), 551.

In this note, I shall list three further categories of items dealing with *Toparcha Gothicus*: (a) some writings previous to 1958, quoted in the works just mentioned, but deserving special notice; (b) works which do not occur in Westberg's second article, or have appeared between 1908 and 1957, but have not been included in the bibliographies by Colonna and Moravcsik; (c) articles which appeared after 1957.

(a) N. Lambin, "O Tmutorokanskoj Rusi," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniija*, 171 (January 1874), 58–95, esp. 79–95; A. Kunik, "O zapiske gotskogo toparxa," *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, 24 (1874), 61–160; P. Buračkov, "O zapiske gotskogo toparcha," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniija*, 192 (1877), 199–252; J. L. Píč, *Der nationale Kampf gegen das ungarische Staatsrecht . . .* (Leipzig, 1882), 83–85; F. I. Uspenskij, "Vizantijskie

vladenija na severnom bregu Černogo Morja v IX–X vv.," *Kievskaja Starina*, 25, nos. 5–6 (1889), 253–94 (also as a pamphlet with independent pagination, cited in notes to the present study); P. N. Miljukov, "Vremja i mesto dejstvija zapiski grečeskogo toparxa," *Trudy vos'mogo Arxeologičeskogo S'ezda v Moskve* 1890, III (1897), 278–89 (reprints the Greek text) (cf. *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 5 [1898], 549–51); Ju. Kulakovskij, "Zapiska grečeskogo toparxa," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniya*, 340 (April 1902), 449–59; F. I. Uspenskij, "F. Vestberg, Kommentarij na zapisku gotškago toparxa," *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk po istor.-filol. otdeleniju*, VIII^e Série, vol. VI, 7 [= *Otčet o sorok četvertom prisuždenii nagrad Grafa Uvarova*] (1904), 243–62; M. Levčenko, "K voprosu o 'zapiske grečeskogo toparxa,'" in *idem*, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (1956), 291–339 (this is a slight reworking of the same author's "Cennyj istočnik po voprosu russko-vizantijskix otnošenij v X veke," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 4 [1951], 42–72); G. G. Litavrin, "Zapiska grečeskogo toparxa," *Iz istorii srednevekovoj Evropy* (Moscow, 1957), 114–30.

(b) A. Starčevskij, "O zaslugax Rumjanceva, okazannyx otečestvennoj istorii," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniya*, 49 (1846), part V, pp. 33–34; E. Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, I (1855), 569–70; I. Zabelin, *Istorija russkoj žizni . . .*, I (1876), 310 note 1; J. L. Pfč and A. Amlacher, "Die Dacischen Slaven und Csergeder Bulgaren," *Sitzungsberichte der K. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1888), 227–67, esp. 238–39; V. S. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii*. I–II (1891–1908; reprint 1966), cf. I, p. 200; II, p. 119 note 1; N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei și Cetății-Albe* (1899), 26–27; S. P. Šestakov, "Očerki po istorii Xersonesa v VI–X vekax po R.Xr." [= *Pamjatniki Xristianskogo Xersonesa*, 3] (Moscow, 1908), esp. 78–82; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, I (1913, reprint 1954), 462–64 and note 4; Ju. Kulakovskij, *Prošloe Tavridy* (1914), 85 and note 2; F. I. Uspenskij, "Pervye stranicy russkoj letopisi i vizantijskie perexožie skazaniya," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej*, 32 (1915), esp. 225; A. L. Bertier-Delagarde, "K voprosu o mestonaxoždenii Mavrokastrona zapiski gotškago toparcha," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej*, 33 (1919), 1–20; J. Brutzkus, "Pis'mo xazarskogo jevreja ot X v.," *Evrejskaja mysl'*, 1 (1922), 31–71, esp. 58–68 (reprinted under the same title as a separate pamphlet [Berlin, 1924], cf. 32–42); N. Bănescu, "Les premiers témoignages sur les Roumains du Bas-Danube," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 3 (1922), 287–310, esp. 306–10; V. A. Parxomenko, "Novye tolkovaniya zapiski gotškago toparxa," *Izvestija Tavričeskogo obščestva istorii, arxeologii i etnografii*, 3 (1929) (inaccessible to me); F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (1933, reprint 1969), 186–87; G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă* (1935), 99–101; A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (1936), 119–31; J. Bromberg, "Toponymical and Historical Miscellanies . . .," *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), 169, and *ibid.*, 13 (1938), 35 note 2 and 52; V. V. Mavrodin, "Slavjano-russkoe naselenie nižnego Dona i severnogo Kavkaza v X–XI vekax," *Učenie Zapiski Gosudarstvennogo Leningradskogo Pedagogičeskogo Instituta im. Gercena*, 11 (1938), 231–73, esp. 251; A. N. Nasonov, "Tmutarakan' v istorii

vostočnoj Evropy X veka," *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, 6 (1940), 79–99, esp. 81 note 4 and 92–93; M. A. Šangin, "'Zapiska grečeskogo toparxa' kak istočnik o vojne russkix na Balkanax 970 g. i zimoj 971 g.," *Istoričeskij Žurnal* (1941, no. 9), 120–23; G. I. Brătianu, "Vicina II," esp. "VI. Maurocastron et Asprocastron," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, 19 (1942), 155–66; E. Honigmann, "Studies in Slavic Church History," *Byzantion*, 17 (1945), 160–61; V. V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (1945), 205 and 260–61; *idem*, *Drevnjaja Rus'* (1946), 194–95; E. V. Vejmar and S. F. Strželeckij, "K voprosu o Slavjanax v Krymu," *Voprosy Istorii* (1952, no. 4), 94–99, esp. 98–99; M. A. Tixanova, "Doros-Feodoro v istorii srednevekovogo Krima," *Materialy i issledovaniia po arxeologii SSSR*, 34 (1953), 328 note 1; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954), 165 and 244 note 45; B. Câmpina, "Le problème de l'apparition des états féodaux roumains," *Nouvelles études d'histoire présentées au X^e Congrès des Sciences Historiques, Rome, 1955* (1955), 181–207, esp. 189–90 (cf. N. Bănescu's criticisms in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 52 [1959], 195); M. V. Levčenko, "Problema russko-vizantijskix otnošenij v russkoj dorevoljucionnoj, zarubežnoj i sovetskoj istoriografii," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 8 (1956), 7–25, esp. 11, 13–14, and 22. M. A. Šangin's *Vizantijskie istočniki o vojne Svjatoslava s grekami*, a manuscript preserved in the Archives of the Leningrad section of the Institute of History, was inaccessible to me; cf., e.g., Levčenko, "K voprosu . . ." (as *supra*), p. 302 note 2, and P. O. Karyškovskij in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 6 (1953), 37 note 2.

(c) M. A. Šangin and A. F. Višnjakova, "Iz kommentarija k 'Zapiske grečeskogo toparcha,'" *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 14 (1958), 99–102; D. L. Talis, "Iz istorii russko-korsunskix političeskix otnošenij v IX–X vv.," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 14 (1958), 103–15, esp. 105–06 and 108 note 22; B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus'* (1959), 623–24; A. L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Xersones* [= *Materialy i issledovaniia po istorii SSSR*, 63] (1959), esp. 54 and note 2; C. Cihodaru, "Observații critice asupra însemnărilor toparhului bizantin," *Academia R. P. Romîne, Filiala Iași, Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie*, 12, 2 (Jassy, 1961), 259–72 (dates the Fragments to 1050–51); P. Diaconu, "Zur Frage der Datierung des Steinwalles in der Dobrudscha und der Lokalisierung der im Berichte des griechischen Toparchen geschilderten Ereignisse," *Dacia*, N. S., 6 (1962), 317–35 (the same article in Rumanian, "Despre datarea valului de piatră din Dobrogea și localizarea evenimentelor din nota toparhului grec," *Studii*, 15, 5 [1962], 1215–35 [dates the Fragments to ca. 992]); M. N. Tixomirov, *Istočnikovedenie istorii SSSR*, I (1962), 145; P. Xr. Petrov, "Vosstanie Petra i Bojana v 976 g. i bor'ba Komitopulov s Vizantie," *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), 121–44, esp. 122 and 142–44; C. Cihodaru, "Precizări necesare în legătură cu datarea valului de piatră din Dobrogea și însemnările toparhului bizantin," *Studii*, 16, 5 (1963), 1123–35 (refutes Diaconu); M. G. Nystazopoulou, "Note sur l'anonyme de Hase improprement appelé Toparque de Gothie," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 86 (1962), 319–26 (good recent bibliography; cf. V. Laurent in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 55 [1962], 349); *Tusculum-Lexikon* (Munich, 1963), 507–08, s.v. "Toparcha Gothicus"; *Sovetskaja Istoričes-*

kaja Ėnciklopedija, V (1964), 622, s.v. "Zapiska grečeskogo toparxa"; L. Jončev, ed. and trans., "Zapiska na gotskija toparx," *Grčki izvori za Bŕlgarskata istorija*, 5 [= *Izvori za Bŕlgarskata istorija*, 9] (1964), 296–302 (reprints parts of Greek text); P. Diaconu, "Din nou despre valul de piatră din Dobrogea și nota toparhului grec," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*, 16 (1965), 189–99, 384–94; C. Cihodaru, "Alte precizări în legătură cu valul de piatră din Dobrogea și cu însemnările toparhului bizantin," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, 2 (Jassy, 1965), 261–80; N. M. Panagiotakes (Panayotakis), *Λέων ὁ Διάκονος...*, A' Τὰ βιογραφικά, B' Χειρόγραφα καὶ ἐκδόσεις (1965) (the same work in Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 34 [1965]), esp. 121–22; Em. Condurachi, I. Barnea, P. Diaconu, "Nouvelles recherches sur le *Limes* byzantin du Bas-Danube aux X^e–XI^e siècles," *The Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (1967), 179–93, esp. 187–88; A. V. Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii konstantinopol'skoj patriarxii v XI stoletii," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 28 (1968), 101 and note 65; Z. V. Udal'cova, *Sovetskoe vizantinovedenie za 50 let* (1969), 117–18; Petre Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube* [= *Bibliotheca historica Romaniae*, 27] (1970), esp. 33 note 81 and bibl. on 140–41; *Radjans'ka Encyklopedija Istoriji Ukrajiny*, II (1970), 182, s.v. "Zapyska hrec'koho toparxa"; I. Ševčenko, "Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, Bulletin d'information et de coordination*, 5 (1971), 71–95; H. Ahrweiler, "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX^e siècle," *ibid.*, esp. 68–70; I. Ševčenko, Preface to the reprint of Westberg, *Die Fragmente...* (1972).—The typewritten thesis by M. Nystazopoulou, *La Chersonèse taurique à l'époque byzantine* (cf. Ahrweiler, "Les relations..." [as *supra*], 56 note 5), inaccessible to me, is being reworked for publication.

APPENDIX II

Correspondence between Rumjancev and Hase¹⁸²

A. [Rumjancev to Hase, draft, probably of April–June 1816, Lenin Library, *Otdel rukopisej*, folder Fond 255.5.34, no. 9; see figs. 13–14 *infra*]

à Mr Haser à Paris

[p. 1] je vous fait mes remerciements de m'avoir ecrits. Vôte souvenir m'a flatté et je vous scais beaucoup de gré de vous occuper à compléter la Collection des Bysantins, Mr Krug m'a montré la feuille d'Epreuve et j'en ai été satisfait. vous allez acquerir des droits à la reconnoissance et vous en aurez de particuliers à la mien(n)e

je suis charmé d'apprendre que vous vous proposez de nous don(n)er entre-autres l'édition de George Hamartolus dont s'est servi Nestor et je vous invite très instament Monsieur à rechercher parmi les manuscrits inédits des auteurs

¹⁸² In the transcription of the texts, no account was taken of deletions, orthographic idiosyncrasies, and mistakes. I wish to thank Professor Benjamin Uroff and Mrs. O. S. Popova for their help in obtaining the microfilms and reproductions of texts printed here, and the authorities of the Lenin Library, for allowing me to inspect these and other pieces of correspondence, in the summer of 1970.

Bisantins ceux dans lesquels peuvent être consignés quelques faits relatifs à l'Histoire de ma Patrie, ce sera me rendre un service essentiel et je ne demande pas mieux que de le reconoitre.

Banduri, nous dit peu sur la Conversion des Russes à la Religion Chretien(n)e mais il se pouroit tres bien que le manuscrit de la bibliotheque de Colbert N. 4432. dans lequel il paroît avoir puisé ces notions, contien(n)e davantage. Ne voudriez vous pas Mr avoir la bonté de parcourir ce volume et de vous assurer s'il ne contient point encore quelque chose qui soit relatif aux Russes ? et si vous y faites pareilles découvertes je vous serai infiniment obligé de me les comuniquer au prealable sans retard.

S'il existe parmi les manuscrits qui sont à la Bibliotheque une vie un peu elargie du Patriarche St Ignace il seroit possible d'y retrouver quelques notions plus précises, sur des Russes qui abord<è>rent dit' on le lieu de son Exile et y troublerent ses pieuses ocupations, renverserent ses autels.

Coment les bisantins ne nous ont ils point transmis les details de la conversion de Wladimir au 10^{me} siecle tandis que l'un d'entre eux cite cependant le secours que l'Empereur Basile recut de Wladimir et qu'il employa contre les rebelles adherents de Bardas Phocas. il doit nescessairement se trouver quelque part dans quelqu'un des Bysantins inedits des notions Historiques sur le Bapteme et le mariage de Wladimir peut être vous est il reservé d'en enrichir nôtre Nestor

[p. 2] je ne mets com(m)e vous le voyez nulle reserve à mes importunités, en voici une nouvelle preuve.

je vous consulte Mr pour scavoir si les vastes conoissances que vous avez des Bisantins ne vous metent pas dans le cas d'eclaircir ce que c'etoit dans l'Empire d'orient que la ville de Sur ou Souroje que l'on trouve cité dans nos analles en plus d'une occasion, voici ce qui peut vous mettre sur la voye.

Nôtre Eglise chôme le 15. de Dec(em)bre la Fête d'un St Etienne qui au 8^{me} siecle etoit *Archevêque* de cette ville de la domination des Emp. Grecs; C'est un des Prelats dont le rôle [?] s'est signalé sous le Regne de Leon l'Isaurien en faveur des Images, et je suis frappé je l'avoue de ne l'avoir point retrouvé dans les differents recueils des Vies des Saints que l'Eglise Latine reconoit pour tels.

nos legendes, disent que né en Capadoce il se presenta à l'age de 15. ans à Constantinople sous le Regne de Theodose l'adramitain; que le Patriarche Germain le consacra Archeveque de Sur ou Souroje. qu'il s'y rendit *par mer* et qu'au bout de 5 ans, il convertit au christianisme non seulement tous les habitants de la ville mais ceux de la contrée environante.

notez je vous prie Mr. que nos legendes disent, que ce Prelat fut particuliere-ment protégé par l'Imperatrice Epouse de Constantin Copronime, qui sollicita et obtint de son Mary que ce fut lui qui tint sur le fonds de baptême leur fils, Leon qui devint ensuite Empereur.

Ce qui peut nous assister encore Mr c'est la relation d'un Voyage d'un de nos archeveques no(m)mé Pimin qui en 1389. sortant d'azov le 1. Juin pour se rendre à Constantinople, a passé le 5. Juin devant Caffa et Sur ou Souroje.

il en resulte nescessairement que le Sur ou Souroje, qui fait l'objet de ma curiosité etoit ou bien en Crimée sur la même côte que Caffa ou bien sur la côte

opposée dans l'Isle de Taman. Cette ville peut avoir porté chez les Bisantins un nom différent, mais sa place géographique est à peu près déterminée et peut être me doneriez vous moyen de la fixer tout à fait, en retrouvant dans les Bisantins, un archeveque Etienne protégé par l'Imperatrice fem(m)e de Constantin Copronime qui si ma mémoire ne me trompe étoit une Kosare, il est bon de vous dire aussi que dans la vie de ce Saint tel quelle est dans nos menées c'est un nom(m)é philarethe qui à sa mort lui succede dans son Archeveché; les actes des Conciles, Iconoclastes ou ceux des assemblées des Evêques qui leur étoient contraires ne portent ils pas des signatures de l'un ou l'autre de ces Archevêques et en ce cas, coment leur Archeveché y est il designé.

n'y avoit il pas en Crimée une Eglise des Goths? et ou se trouvoit son siege?

y a t' il quelque part un nomenclateur de toutes les metropoles chretiennes qui au 8^{me} siecle se trouvoient dans les limites de l'Empire d'orient. Soit quelles reconnussent com(m)e précédement la Hierarchie des Patriarches de Constantinople ou qu'a cause du Schisme des Iconoclastes elles se fussent rangées à cette Epoque sous la domination des Papes.

j'éprouve Mr je l'avoue quelque confusion de vous être si indiscret; je trouble par cette lettre des occupations utiles et plus avantageuses dans leurs resultats, mais le veritable scavoir est toujours indulgent vous devez l'etre.

B. [Excerpt from letter of Hase to Rumjancev, dated July 7, 1816, Lenin Library, *Otdel rukopisej*, folder R. A. 7.12, no. 9, pp. 3-8; see figs 15-22 *infra*]

[p. 3] ... La question sur la position géographique de Sur ou de Sourage pourroit devenir le sujet d'un mémoire curieux. Voulant répondre sur le champ à Votre Excellence, je réunis ici peut-être un peu précipitamment ce que je pense à ce sujet. Que mes conjectures semblent admissibles ou non à V. E., Elle fera de ces matériaux épars l'usage qu'Elle voudra.

D'après l'itinéraire de l'Archevêque Pimine nous devons supposer que Sourage se trouvoit à peu de distance du detroit de Caffa, soit en Crimée, soit sur la côte opposée de l'Asie.

Je ne crois pas qu'il faille le chercher dans le pays des Abasges, la *Zichia* des Byzantins. D'abord, nous nous éloignerions trop du détroit; ensuite dans tout le tour du Pont-Euxin la cote depuis l'île de Taman jusqu'à Dioscurias est précisément celle que les Empereurs d'Orient ont possédée le moins de temps. Ils n'y pouvoient déjà plus rien au sixième siècle (Procope *Bello Gotthic.* I. 572. B.), et si Basile II s'en rendit maître vers 1022 (Cedren. II. 718. D.), sa domination ne fut certainement pas de longue durée. Les garnisons des Grecs, dispersées sur cette côte éloignée, habitée par des peuples sauvages et belliqueux, devoient être bientôt accablées, n'ayant pas, comme en Crimée, de larges bras de mer pour leur defense.

Je ne cherche pas non plus Sourage dans l'île de Taman. Nous connaissons le nom du siège métropolitain établi dans cette contrée; c'est celui de *Tmutarakan* en Russe (Histoire ancienne d'Asov et de la Crimée, dans [p. 4] le Recueil de Müller volume II cahier I p. 71. S. Pétersbourg 1736. 8 et le Mémoire du

M. le Comte de Mussin-Puschkin sur l'inscription de Gleb, figurée aussi dans le voyage de Pallas de l'an 1793 et 1794. Tom. II p. 184 de l'édition Allemande), et *Tamatarcha* (Ταμάταρχα) ou *Mettracha* (Μετράχα) chez les Byzantins. Le premier de ces deux noms se trouve dans Constantin (*De administrando imp.* 113. E.F.), le second dans Le Quien *Oriens Christianus* I, 1326. A. Il y' avoit en outre, du moins pour quelque temps, un évêché à Phanagoria (Le Quien, *ibid.*).

Il ne reste donc que la Crimée, et c'est dans la partie méridionale de cette presqu'île que je me flatte de rencontrer la ville de Sourage [= Surož]. Je crois 1) qu'elle étoit connue chez les Grecs sous le nom de *Sarat*, Σαράτ. 2) qu'ayant pris de l'accroissement vers le treizième siècle, elle est la Soldaja des Genoïs, et par conséquent le Soudak d'aujourd'hui, dont les ruines, les fortifications, et la position singulière ont attiré l'attention de presque tous les voyageurs modernes. Voici, Monseigneur, les raisons sur lesquelles j'appuie mes deux conjectures.

1. "La contrée des Patzinaques," dit Constantin (*De administrando imp.* 112 F. [ch. 42,62-64 = p. 184, eds. Moravscik-Jenkins]), "comprend tout le pays depuis la Russie et le Bosphore, jusqu'à Cherson, Sarat, Burat, et les trente divisions." Les Patzinaques occupoient donc tout l'intérieur de la presqu'île, à l'exception de la côte escarpée qui en borde la côte méridionale. Les *trente divisions* sont les mêmes que les *trente Climata* (Banduri *Animadvers. in Constantin. De administr. imp.* [p. 5] 112 F.), près du Cap Balaclava. Je ne connais point Burat, qui étoit peut-être aux environs de Nikita, et Sarat, en suivant la côte, me semble tomber naturellement sur le Soudak d'aujourd'hui.

2. Ce qui me fait croire surtout à l'identité de Sarat et de Soudak, c'est une lettre inédite conservée dans notre Bibliothèque. Elle est écrite par Maxime Catélianus, personnage inconnu d'ailleurs. Ce monument curieux de l'impéritie des marins grecs au quatorzième siècle ne porte point de date; mais comme il se trouve au milieu des lettres du Patriarche Athanase (1289-1311 [rather: 1289-93; 1303-09]), on peut présumer qu'il est adressé à ce Prélat; d'ailleurs, la précision de son époque n'est pas d'une importance majeure pour nos recherches. V.E. verra que Catélianus, obligé de quitter Anchiale (était-ce parce que les Bulgares menaçaient ou avaient pris cette ville?), fit naufrage sur les côtes escarpées de la Crimée, qu'il gagna une ville nommée Sarat située sur un rocher à peu de distance de la mer, et qu'il se rendit à Caffa le lendemain. V.E. ne pense-t-Elle pas qu'aux environs de cette dernière ville il n'y a guères que Soudak à qui conviennent toutes ces particularités?

Mais, me dira-t-on, quand même il seroit constant que Sarat est le nom grec de Soudak, comment prouver l'identité de Soudak et de Sourage? Voici, Monseigneur, des rapprochements qui peuvent au moins conduire à une hypothèse:

3. Il est fait mention chez les auteurs Arméniens d'un bourg nommé indistinctement Sour-gat et Sou-dak, et qui certainement n'est autre chose que [p. 6] le Soudak des modernes. Sour-gat, d'après les Arméniens, étoit situé dans la partie Orientale de la Crimée, distant de cinq milles géographiques de Caffa. Etienne Arontz, Archevêque Arménien, rapporte (*Géographie, Partie II. Tome*

II p. 329.) qu'une colonie Arménienne s'y établit après la ruine de la ville d'Ani, saccagée par les Mahométains vers l'an 1320 de J.C.

4. Soudak est d'ailleurs une ville, si non antique, du moins bien antérieure à l'arrivée des genoïs en Crimée. Madame Guthrie (*A tour through Taurida* etc. London 1802. 4. p. 127.) assure qu'elle était déjà en 786 siège d'un Archeveché. Ce fait, s'il étoit constaté, seroit décisif en faveur de mon hypothèse; mais j'avoue que je n'ai pu découvrir l'autorité d'après laquelle Madame Guthrie l'avance.

5. Ajoutons à ces inductions la route de Pimine qui, ayant passé Caffa, se dirigea probablement vers l'ouest dans la direction de Constantinople; se porter de Caffa vers Anapa ou Sotchouk-Kalé, auroit été revenir sur ses pas. Or, Soudak ou Soldaja étoit alors la seule ville considérable qu'il y eut sur la côte depuis Caffa jusqu'au cap Balaclava.

6. Il paraît enfin que le nom Tartare Sou-dag, *montagne Sou*^a, est dérivé du mot Sur, et qu'il renferme encore la première syllabe de celui de Sourage. Comme je me méfie toujours un peu des hypothèses fondées sur la seule conformité des sons, je ne remarquerois [p. 7] pas cette ressemblance, si elle étoit isolée; mais jointe aux autres faits elle ajoute, si je ne me trompe, un degré de probabilité à ma conjecture.

J'avoue cependant qu'il reste quelques difficultés que je ne saurois résoudre à moi seul. Il peut surtout paraître singulier que les Grecs qui parlent si souvent des Evêchés de Cherson (Le Quien, I. 1329.) et de Bosphorus (*ibid.* I. 1827.), ne fassent jamais mention de l'Archeveché de Sarat. Dirions-nous que l'Evêché de Bosphorus et l'Archeveché de Sarat ne sont peut-être qu'un seul, et que le siège de ces Prélats se trouvant établi, à différentes époques, tantôt dans l'une tantôt dans l'autre de ces deux villes, les Byzantins les aient toujours nommés Evêques de Bosphorus en quel lieu que fût leur résidence?

Quoiqu'il en soit, Monseigneur, je crois avoir rendu probable au moins l'identité de Soudak et du Sarat de Constantin. Quant à celle de Sarat et de Sourage, c'est à V.E. de voir si ma conjecture s'accorde avec les particularités rapportées dans les annales Russes de cette dernière ville. Peut-être pourrois-je donner un degré de probabilité de plus à mon opinion en consultant des ouvrages Russes et Allemands; mais je me trouve dans une Bibliothèque, et je puis dire dans une ville, où il n'y a presque point des premiers, et peu des seconds. Réduit par conséquent aux auteurs Grecs je m'estimerois heureux toutes les fois quand dans ceux-ci et dans le nombre de notes historiques et géographiques que j'ai recueillies en examinant [p. 8] les ouvrages inédits de notre Bibliothèque, il se trouvera quelques détails qui peuvent aider les recherches de V.E.

Je n'ai point voulu retarder l'envoi de ma petite dissertation, mais j'espère que dans une quinzaine de jours je pourrois vous faire parvenir la totalité des épreuves de Léon, dont le tirage est achevé. On s'occupe maintenant de l'im-

^a Je dois faire observer cependant, que le mot Tartare *dag*, montagne, s'écrit par un g, et que le nom de Soudak, chez les auteurs Arabes, se termine par un k; ainsi la signification de ce mot n'est peut-être pas celle que je dis là, mais la ressemblance entre *Sou* et *Sour* existe toujours.

pression des notes, et l'on m'assure qu'avant la fin de l'année tout sera terminé. Il me tarde de faire connaître à l'Europe savante combien je suis pénétré des sentimens de reconnaissance et de respect avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

Monseigneur

de votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

C. B. Hase

Paris ce 7 juillet
1816

APPENDIX III

Note on Hase's Secret Diary

The full text of Hase's Diary, of obvious interest both for establishing the truth about the Fragments of *Toparcha Gothicus* and for recreating the history of his milieu, is unavailable at present. After Hase's death on March 21, 1864, his diary must have been examined by his relatives.¹⁸³ They realized that its contents should not be divulged and that the precept τὰ ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ ἐν δῆμῳ fully applied to it. However, Ch. M. W. Brunet de Presle, Hase's former student, friend of long standing, and immediate successor at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, had access to at least a part of the full text of the Diary, for he made available to A. R. Rhangabe (Rhagkabês) its pages concerning Hase's trip to Greece in 1837. These Rhangabe published in 1868.¹⁸⁴

Hase willed his scholarly correspondence to his old school, the Gymnasium in Weimar.¹⁸⁵ People at the Gymnasium expected to receive his Diary as well, but by October 30, 1864, Hase's "Diaries had not yet come from France over to us."¹⁸⁶ According to a late and unreliable source, Hase's scholarly papers went to the Library of Jena University.¹⁸⁷

This leaves Paris *Supplément Grec* 1363, which entered the Bibliothèque Nationale from Solomon Reinach's library.¹⁸⁸ The manuscript is in Reinach's own hand and is based on Johann Friedrich Dübner's¹⁸⁹ summary of the Diary,

¹⁸³ Hase's estate (as opposed to his papers) went to his niece, Frau Peucer, wife of a minister; cf. Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . . (as in note 2 *supra*), 111.

¹⁸⁴ For these details, cf. A. R. Rhangabe, "Ἡμερολόγιον . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), and S. B. Kougeas, "Ἡ προέλευσις τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Hase Παρισιακῆς, συλλογῆς πατριαρχικῶν καὶ μοναστηριακῶν ἐγγράφων," *Ἑλληνικά* 20 (1967), 12–17 (Kougeas, too, publishes some passages from the Diary). Rhangabe and Kougeas erroneously dated Hase's journey to June–July 1840; however, Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 90 shows unmistakably that Hase spent the evening of July 7 of that year in Paris; while pp. 79–80 of the *Supplément*, with entries from June–July 1837, are a summary of the text published by Rhangabe.

¹⁸⁵ Cf., e.g., Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . . (as in note 2 *supra*), 111.

¹⁸⁶ Rassow, "Zur Erinnerung . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 146.

¹⁸⁷ Pitoulet, "Le père Hase . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 60.

¹⁸⁸ Description of the manuscript in Ch. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Le Supplément Grec, Tome III*, nos 901–1371 (1960), 685.

¹⁸⁹ Dübner (1802–1867) was another classical scholar and editor (e.g., of the Greek Anthology) of German origin established in Paris. However, he did not achieve success comparable to Hase's. On him, cf., e.g., P. and V. Glachant, *Papiers d'autrefois* . . . (Paris, 1899), chapter "Frédéric Dübner,

the full text of which the latter clearly must have possessed, at least for a time. We know from elsewhere that Dübner kept some papers of Hase's, which had been deposited with him by the members of Hase's family. However, Dübner died after a short illness in 1867, and all the papers found in his possession, including those of Hase, were sold at that time.¹⁹⁰

Supplément Grec 1363 was written (perhaps with further omissions) by Solomon Reinach in 1913; Reinach, who himself searched for the original Diary, left the following notes on pages 1–4 of the *Supplément*:

p. 1 [Reinach's hand]:

Sur Hase

Chantepie, bibliothécaire à l'Ecole normale, m'a dit autrefois qu'Adert, professeur à Genève, possédait une copie des mémoires de Hase. Cette copie ne parut pas à la vente d'Adert et les renseignements que Cartier, conservateur des Musées de Genève, essaya d'obtenir pour moi à ce sujet, se réduisirent à rien. Vers la fin de 1912, j'appris de Paul Mayer que feu Guardia, le grammairien avait possédé une autre copie. Confondant Guardia avec son collaborateur polonais, Wierzsewski [Wieruszewski?], je crus qu'il était conservateur du musée d'Alger. J'écrivis à Carcopino, successeur de Gsell à Alger; il apprit de Wierzewski [sic] que la fille de Guardia avait épousé Brunon, professeur à l'École de Pharmacie de Rouen. J'écrivis alors à Delatigny à Rouen, qui m'a dit qu'il était lié avec Brunon. Une recherche faite par le dernier fit retrouver la copie, que M. et Mme Brunon ont déposée chez moi le mercredi 5 février 1913, en m'autorisant à en faire usage comme bon me semblerait. Avec cette copie est une lettre de F. Hoefer, une notice sur Hase, et un très mauvais essai de résumé des mémoires.

La copie est faite d'un trait, sur papier bleu à entête: MAISON D'EDUCATION DIRIGÉE PAR M. L'ABBE A.J. DELBOS, VERSAILLES. M. Gaston Destrais (de Versailles), le 12 février 1913, me fait savoir que l'abbé Alexis Joseph Delbos, né à Agen le 4 mars 1804, figure pour la 1ère fois au recensement de 1849 comme prêtre et chef d'institution. Il avait à lui toute la maison, ou professaient deux prêtres, Lefeuvre Michaëli et Maillet Casimir. Le reste de la maison logeait 7 internes et deux domestiques. En 1851 il figure comme *parti* et l'on perd sa trace à Versailles.

D'après Froehner (11 mars 1913) la copie serait de Dübner et proviendrait de la bibliothèque Adert de Genève. L'original serait resté dans la famille de Hase à Weimar ou aux environs. Dübner avait communiqué à Froehner la phrase qui le concerne; c'est cette phrase que je lui ai envoyée à mon tour et qui m'a valu sa réponse. [by another hand: voir 5 nov. 1845]

d'après sa correspondance inédite," 195–264. Dübner and Hase worked together on the New Stephanus; however, their relationship was not without strain: Dübner, disappointed by his more illustrious colleague, who refused to intervene with the minister on behalf of Dübner's efforts to reform the teaching of Greek in French secondary schools, spoke of "le méprisable Hasius," *ibid.*, 222.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. E. Miller in *Journal des savants* (January 1875), 17.

[p. 2 of the manuscript contains Reinach's excerpts on Hase from the encyclopedias of Brockhaus and Larousse]

p. 3 [Reinach's hand]:

Lettre à M. le docteur Guardia

Brunoy le 20 juillet 1876

Mon cher ami

J'ai mille pardons à vous demander du retard que j'ai mis à vous rapporter le singulier *Diarium* de Hase. J'avais entrepris, sur votre invitation, d'en faire quelques extraits, mais j'y ai renoncé après m'être aperçu que, élimination faite des détails personnels les plus scabreux, le tout se réduisait à peu près à zéro. Ce sera néanmoins un document *caractéristique* du personnage, et comme tel il pourrait avoir de l'intérêt.

Tout à vous,

F. Hoefer

P.S. Les notes ci jointes, très rapidement crayonnées témoignent du travail d'élimination que j'avais commencé.

(Ces notes <ont> sans valeur et prouvent que Hoefer ne savait bien ni l'allemand ni le grec.)

[p. 4 of the manuscript contains Reinach's note on Hortense de Beauharnais; then, among others, the following]: "J'ai rendu le Ms. original à Brunon en l'avertissant qu'il était sans valeur et devrait aller à l'enfer à la Nationale"

In spite of Meyer's information, it seems that there was only one copy of the summary made by Dübner, the copy which passed from Adert to Guardia, then to his daughter Mme Brunon, and thence to Reinach. Several passages of the copy which was given to Reinach unmistakably show that it is a summary, and that Dübner had been the epitomator; Reinach himself (or another reader) noted this on several occasions. Thus on page 28, after the entry for September 8, 1827, we find: "preuve évidente que le ms. est un résumé." On page 131, the entry for November 5, 1845 runs as follows: "Ὁ Δύβνερ, διαλεγόμενος περὶ Καρόλου Ἰωάννου Hofmann τοῦ ὑβριστικοῦ (den ich völlig vergessen habe)." In the margin, Reinach [?] remarked in pencil: "signature."¹⁹¹ The few pages published by Rhangabe are the only rendering of the full text of the Diary known today; this can be demonstrated by comparing them with the corresponding passages of the summary in *Supplément Grec* 1363.¹⁹²

In sum, although the chances of rediscovering the full text of Hase's Diary are remote, the scholar is offered a few clues for reasonable action: he should search among the papers of Brunet de Presle, consult the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar which preserves materials willed by Hase to the Weimar

¹⁹¹ Cf. also Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 113 (entry for August 12, 1842): "Ἐδραμον πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον [probably an equivalent of sacré] Δυβνερ, ᾧ χρῆ διαδέξασθαι [read: διαλέξασθαι] . . . (Dies [?] keine Erinnerung.) In the margin Reinach's (?) remark in pencil: "c'est donc Dübner qui résume."

¹⁹² Compare Rhangabe, "Ἡμερολόγιον . . ." (as in note 2 *supra*) 83 with Paris *Suppl. Gr.* 1363, p. 80. Both have the following entry for July 13: χαίρω δ' ἐγὼ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναφέρω αὐτὸν τὸν χρυσοῦν σταυρὸν [a decoration from the king of Greece], ἀνευ πόνου τινός.

Gymnasium,¹⁹³ explore the Library of Jena University, try to discover the fate of Dübner's papers, and pursue the story of Hase's niece Frau Peucer and of the archives of the Hase family.¹⁹⁴

The remaining clues are contained in Reinach's own story on page 1 of *Supplément Grec* 1363: by 1913, the original full text of the Diary was believed to have remained with Hase's family in Weimar or thereabouts. As for Dübner's copy, it was given back to Brunon in 1913, and, if it has survived, it is in the possession of his heirs, for Brunon seems not to have followed Reinach's suggestion and entrusted the Diary to the *Enfer* [locked section of pornographica] of the Bibliothèque Nationale; it is not there at present.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ However, my inquiry to the *Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar* elicited the reply that the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv was in possession only of letters addressed to Hase between 1821 und 1864. The authorities of the Archive were not able to ascertain the whereabouts of Hase's other papers (letter of November 26, 1970).

¹⁹⁴ Several pieces used in Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik* . . . (as in note 2 *supra*), were kept in this archive. Cf., e.g., note 1 to p. 77 (on p. 325).

¹⁹⁵ I owe this information to Mlle M.-L. Concasty (letter of April 5, 1971). She also inquired about the Dübner copy at the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rouen (where Brunon lived) with no success.

1. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 315^r. Printer's Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, p. 254B-C

ala
haze

I_{II}. (à la ligne)

[illegible][illegible]

4. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 347^v. Printer's Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, p. 255A–D

ad ignem, nec illum splendendum, reco-
llabamur. Somnum omnem visus per
quietem occurrentia, horrenda illa quo-
que, abegerant. Neque quisquam magis
quam ab eis ad arumnas obdormerat: con-
tes erant ut in communi calamitate aequi
et animo et corpore afflicti. ^{Alius b} ~~Beatus~~ pro-
dicabat ~~quod~~ mortuos, ut jam sensu solo-
ribusque liberatos: lamentabatur ^{ab eis} posteris,
~~quibus~~ ~~miseriis~~ oppressi illi quo-
que vita essent defuncturi. Item labori suc-
cubuerant exploratores nostri, vi mali
victi, nec per nivem incerto gradu erran-
tes progredi poterant. Omnium au-
tem acerbissimum erat, quod per regio-
nem hosticam ibi faciebamus, neque
~~ipse~~ ~~namque~~ ~~liber~~ ~~erat~~
res nostra periculo vacua, sed pariter ho-
mis hostiumque violentia timebatur.

est, consovationem dissolvit scribit,
^(am praeambulatione)
 partiumque illarum cognitionem coniungunt.

[A large, irregularly shaped area of the document is heavily scribbled out with dark ink, obscuring the text underneath. The scribbles are dense and cover most of the width of the page in the lower half.]

Omnino enim tunc barbaris bellum
decessimus (aut
inferre ~~decessimus~~ ^{aut} ~~aut~~, si vera fateri o-
portet, recessimus ab illis metu, ne ipsi priores
~~perirent~~ ab iis opprimeremur, steterimusque
iis quantum possemus repugnare. Aque
enim omnes arripiebant inhumanissima et
persecundabant, ut quidam bellum, in omnes

6. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 348^v. Printer's Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, p. 256B-257A

Sequitur ^{Sim} folio alio abrupta illa, qua ~~ita~~ superioribus subiungenda esse autumo:

[illegible]

Aqua propterea et instauratum fuerat, et
fossa circumdita: usque cum his * bel-
lum quoque incepit. Divisum erat per signa-
tiones castrorum, et regna pretiosiores in eo de-
posita: minus necessaria caetera per reliquum.
oppidi ambitum erant collocata. ~~habitationes enim in~~
^{(jam} ~~urbis) tota: habitabatur~~ castrorum ~~etiam~~ autem
preparatum fuerat, ne in magno periculo nobis
saluti esset. At barbari tunc multis suorum
amissis cum ignominia ~~se~~ se retraxerunt,
servato ~~animarum~~ vinculo: ego primo mane ego pro-
prii cujusdam cepius contra eduxi. Erant multi
tunc equites paulo plures quam centum, fun-
ditores et sagittarii Sup^{ra} CC. Barbari cum
nusquam apparerent, qua apud huius temporis
essent a me ~~pervenire~~ ^{adorata} sunt, murus velus ~~dante~~
erectus, edocti mei, quomodo recte se in-
strumentum ad bellum. At eis autem qui diti-
oris ~~rebus~~ ^{nostra erant} ~~esse~~, mercibus cursim missi eisque ac-
cessivi, de rerum summa in consilium ire vo-
lens. Et Undique cum advenissent, censione ~~in~~ ^{sunt}
optimatum caetera, quas tunc ego sermores ha-
buorim, ut qui domini potius essent expectandi,
ad quas venire ~~cunctari~~ ^{equiter} quatinus commisitotatem
conari, ab illis percipere, quid denique facien-
tum esset, et ~~cunctari~~ ^{caetera universa} ~~quod~~ ^{amicitia} ~~tunc~~ ^{in vo-} ~~erat~~ ^{lens}, que
ipse quoque reliquis omnibus praestitutura du-

^d ~~Sic~~ Sic Codem.[illegible]

^d Sic Cod

9. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 350^r. Printer's Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, p. 258B-D

10. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 350v. Printers' Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, pp. 258D-259B

11. Paris *Supplément Grec* 858, fol. 351^r. Printer's Copy of the Fragments = Paris Edition, pp. 258B and 259B

C.9

à Mr Hase à Paris.

des droits à la reconnaissance ^{des manuscrits} ~~général~~
et vous en avez de particuliers à la
même.

je vous fait mes remerciements
de m'avoir avisé. Votre souvenir me
flatte et je vous suis beaucoup de
grâce de vous occuper à continuer Compléter
la Collection des Byzantins, Mr Hase
m'a montré la feuille d'adresse et j'en
suis très satisfait. Vous aller acquies
je suis charmé d'apprendre que
vous vous proposez de nous tenir au courant
l'édition de George Hamathos. J'ai
longtemps été son Hôte et je vous
invite très instamment Monsieur à
rechercher parmi les Manuscrits inédits
des auteurs Byzantins ceux dans lesquels
pourrait être consignés quelques faits relatifs
à l'Histoire de ma Patrie, ce sera me
rendre un service essentiel et je n'en demande
pas mieux que de le reconnaître.

Banduri, nous dit que sur la lousure
des Princes en à la religion. Christianisme
mais il se pourrait très bien que la
Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Colbert
N. 4432. Dans lequel il paraît avoir
puisé les notions, contienne dans ce
ne voudrait vous pas Mr avoir l'abandon
de parcourir le Volume et de vous
à vous si il contient encore quelque
chose qui soit relatif aux Russes? et
si vous faites quelques découvertes je
vous en serai infiniment obligé et me les
communiquer sans retard.

Il existe parmi les Manuscrits
qui sont à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie
un des Patriarches de l'Eglise et il est
possible d'y trouver quelques notions plus
précises sur les Russes qui abordent
dit-on la fin de son règne et y troublent les
peines ougares, gouvernant les autels.

Comme les Byzantins ne nous ont
ils point transmis les détails de la
lousure de Vladimir au 10^{me} siècle
tandis que l'un d'eux en a été gardien
les Russes que l'Empereur Basile veut
de Vladimir et qu'il employa contre les
rebelle à l'empire de l'Occident. Il doit nécessairement
se trouver quelque part dans quelques-uns des
Byzantins inédits des notions historiques
sur le Baptême et le mariage de Vladimir
puisque vous en avez un si bon exemple.

1042, qui reconnaissant l'autorité primordiale de la Hiérarchie des Patriarches de Constantinople
ou qui l'eussent du schisme des Monothélites. Mais sa place est rangée à l'Église Grecque
sous la domination des Papes.

Je pourrais aussi vous en dire quelque
chose de votre côté si j'en avais
parfaitement, je troublais par cette lettre
utile, et plus avantageux dans leurs
résultats, mais le véritable savoir
est toujours indulgent pour ceux qui
le veulent.

Les Bénédictins

Je ne mets donc dans le voyage
nulle réserve à mes importunités, en
voici une nouvelle preuve.

Je vous consulte aussi pour savoir
si les vôtres croiraient que vous auriez
reçu votre mission par l'Église de Jérusalem
laquelle étoit qu'on la vît dans son
souterrain que la troupe étoit dans nos
annales en plus d'une occasion, voici
ce qui peut vous mettre sur la voie.

Nôtre Église d'après le 15. de l'Écriture
la fête d'un St Étienne qui au 8^{me} siècle
étoit Archevêque de cette ville de la
domination des Emp. Grecs, j'en suis
certain, c'est le St Étienne, St Étienne.

Sans le dire le St Étienne

Je l'avoue

Je l'avoue de la part des Images, et je suis persuadé
de ne l'avoir point retrouvé dans les
différents recueils des Vies des Saints
que l'Église Latine recueille pour tels.

Dans nos légendes, bien d'autres que
ne en l'Église il se présente à l'âge
de 15. ans à Constantinople sous le nom
d'Évêque de Théodore l'Adramitain, que
le Patriarche St Germain le consacra
Archevêque de Sur ou Souroje, qui
se rendit par lui et qu'on voit de 5
ans, il convertit au Christianisme non
seulement tous les habitants de la ville
mais ceux de la province la même
missionnaire.

Nôtre je vous prie Mr. que nos
légendes disent, que le Pape Grégoire
protégé par l'Empereur Grégoire de
Constantinople (Cyprien), qui obtint
de son Mary que le Pape
lui qui tint sa place sur les fonts
de Baptême lors de son baptême, selon que
nous en avons.

Ce qui peut vous servir en core
est la relation d'un voyage d'un
de nos archevêques nommé Simon qui
en 1389. sortant d'Asie pour se
rendre à Constantinople, a passé le 5. Juin
devant Caffa et Sur ou Souroje.

Il en résulte nécessairement que
le Sur ou Souroje, qui fait l'objet de
ma curiosité étoit ou bien un même
sur la même île que Caffa ou bien
sur la côte opposée de la mer de Tancar.

Cette ville
ayant eu pour son nom les Bénédictins
un nom différent, mais la place
géographique n'a pu être la même.
Il peut être au-dessous de vos yeux
de la part tout à fait, en retrouvant
dans les Bénédictins, un archevêque
Étienne, protégé par l'Empereur
Jean le Comnène le premier qui
si ma mémoire ne me trompe étoit
une ressource, il est bon de vous dire
aussi que dans la vie de ce saint
tel qu'elle est dans nos manuscrits, c'est
un St Étienne nommé Philémon, qui
succéda dans son Archevêché. Les
actes des Conciles, dans lesquels on a
des Évêques qui lui étoient contraires
ne portent ils pas des signatures de
l'un ou l'autre de ces Archevêques et
en la cas, comment leur Archevêché
est-il désigné.

N'y a-t-il pas un même Église
des Goths? et où se trouvoit son siège?

Y a-t-il quelque part une mention
de toutes les Églises chrétiennes, qui
au 8^{me} siècle se trouvoient dans
les limites de l'Empire d'Orient. Soit
qu'on s'en souvienne, soit qu'on ne s'en souvienne pas.

Mais se reconnaissant-ils de la
Hiérarchie des Patriarches de l'Église
ou bien qu'ils qui renvoient à une
église sans parler la signature du
Pape?

#

C.9

Monseigneur,

J'ai lu avec un grand intérêt ce que Votre Excellence a bien voulu me communiquer de ses recherches sur l'histoire ancienne de la Russie, et mon plaisir serait extrême si les réponses que je puis, lui donner, lui paraissent satisfaisantes en tous les égards. Malheureusement il y a des lacunes dans l'histoire du Nord qu'il sera difficile de remplir tout-à-fait et souvent peut-être j'ai eu plutôt le mérite, s'il en est un, d'avoir cherché avec soin la satisfaction d'avoir recueilli beaucoup.

Votre Excellence trouvera dans le onzième Tome des *Acta Conciliorum* (Paris 1715 fol.) une liste assez exacte des évêques mentionnés dans les Tomes précédents du même ouvrage ainsi que de toutes les Métropoles dont il y est question. Un recueil semblable, fait avec méthode, existe dans le *Pere Le Quien Orient Christianus in quatuor Patriarchatus digestus* Paris 1740. trois volumes in-folio. C'est dans le même ouvrage, Tome I

col. 1239 - 1246. que Votre Excellence trouvera des renseignements sur l'évêché de la Gothie, situé sur la mer d'Asie et réuni. Dans les derniers temps, à l'archevêché de Caffa. Je ne trouve parmi nos manuscrits que les deux Vies de S. Ignace déjà connues, l'une écrite par Métas Papadogon et commençant : Πάντων πέν ἀγίων τῶν Εὐσέβη. publiée par Mathieu Hadex, Ingolstadt 1641. et depuis réimprimée dans la Collection des Conciles Tome III Part. II page 692 de l'édition de Winius, Tome III page 1180 de

celle du Père Labbe, et Tome V page 943. de l'édition de Hardouin. L'autre est l'éloge de S. Ignace, par Michel le Syncelle, commenç. Ὁ ἅγιος ὁσως καὶ ἡγίας, imprimé également Tome II Part. II page 725. dans l'édition de Vainus, p. 1269 dans Labbe, et page 200 dans Hardouin. Cet éloge existe en outre dans un de nos Mss. venu de la Sorbonne, avec une peroraison différente de l'imprimée, et avec des variantes importantes quant au texte, mais qui n'ajoutent aucun fait historique.

L'histoire inédite de Psellas, quoiqu'elle commence par le long règne de Basile II (976-1025) et qu'elle contienne des particularités intéressantes sur la personne et la vie privée de ce Prince, n'offre absolument rien sur les Russes qui n'y sont même nommés qu'une fois, précisément à la même occasion où en parle Zonare II. 22. B. ils fournissoient des auxiliaires contre le rebelle Bardas Phocas. Le manuscrit 4482. de Colbert, portant maintenant le No. 3025. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, est un petit in-4.º d'environ 80 feuillets, contenant trois discours de Euthymius, et quelques pièces de vers. Le fragment sur la conversion des Russes suit immédiatement après celles-ci, et commence par les mots, κατὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ σελίου καὶ τοῦ τούτου, comme dans Banduri Animadvers. ad Constantinum Porphy. De admin. imp. II. 112. La fin est également la même que dans l'imprimé, et l'examen le plus attentif m'a convaincu que non seulement la copie donnée par Banduri, mais encore l'analyse du manuscrit dans la, Catalogi Bibliothecae Regiae Pars Secunda (Parisii e typographia Regia 1739. fol.) pag.

597 59. sont exactes.

La question sur la position géographique de Sur ou de Sourage pourrait devenir le sujet d'un mémoire curieux. Vouloir répondre sur le champ à Votre Excellence, je réunis peut-être un peu précipitamment ce que je pense à ce sujet. Que mes conjectures semblent admissibles ou non à V. E., Elle fera de ces matériaux épars l'usage qu'Elle voudra.

D'après l'itinéraire de l'Archevêque Simine nous devons supposer que Sourage se trouvait à peu de distance du détroit de Caffa, soit en Crimée, soit sur la côte opposée de l'Asie.

Je ne crois pas qu'il faille le chercher dans le pays des Abasges, la Zichia des Byzantins. D'abord, nous nous éloignerions trop du détroit; ensuite, dans tout le tour du Pont-Euxin la côte depuis ^{l'île de Taman} Asamagonia jusqu'à Dioscurias est précisément celle que les Empereurs d'Orient ont possédée le moins de temps. Ils n'y pouvoient déjà plus rien au sixième siècle (Procopé Bello Gothico. T. 572. B.), et si Basile II s'en rendit maître vers 1022. (Cedren. II. 718. D.), sa domination ne fut certainement pas de longue durée. Les garnisons des Grecs, dispersées sur cette côte éloignée, habitée par des peuples sauvages et belliqueux, devoient être bientôt accablées, n'ayant pas, comme en Crimée, de larges bras de mer pour leur défense.

Je ne cherche pas non plus Sourage dans l'île de Taman. Nous connaissons sous le nom du siège métropolitain établi dans cette contrée; c'est celui de Tmutarakan en Russe (Histoire ancienne d'Asie et de la Crimée, dans

le Recueil de Müller Volume II cahier 1 p. 77. S. Pétersbourg 1736. 8.) et le Mémoire de
Comte de Musin-Puschkin l'inscription de Gêles, figurée aussi dans le Voyage de Pallas de l'an 1793 et 1794. Tom.
II p. 184. 50 l'édit. Allemande), et Tamatardhar (Taudragha) ou Mebrach
(Merpaxá) chez les Byzantins. Le premier de ces deux noms se trouve dans
Constantin (De administrando imp. II. E. F.), le second dans Sc. Quien Oriens
Christianus T. 1326. A. Il y avait en outre, du moins pour quelque temps, un
évêché à Phanagoria (Kam La Quian, ibid.).

Il ne reste donc que la Crimée, et c'est dans la partie méridionale de
cette presqu'île que je me flatte de rencontrer la ville de Sourage. Je crois
1.) qu'elle étoit connue chez les Grecs sous le nom de Sarat, Σαράρ. 2.)
qu'ayant pris de l'accroissement vers la treizième siècle, elle est la Soldaja
des Génois, et par conséquent le Soudan d'aujourd'hui, dont les ruines, les
fortifications, et la position singulière ont attiré l'attention de presque tous
les voyageurs modernes. Voici, Monseigneur, les raisons sur lesquelles
j'appuie mes deux conjectures.

1. "La contrée des Patzinaques," dit Constantin (De administrando imp. II.
E.), "comprend tout le pays depuis la Russie et le Bosphore, jusqu'à
Cherson, Sarat, Bourat, et les trente divisions." Les Patzinaques occupent
donc tout l'intérieur de la presqu'île, à l'exception de la côte escarpée qui
en borde la côte méridionale. Ses trente divisions sont les mêmes que les
trente Climates (Vandus) Animadvert. in Constantin. De administr. imp.

le Soudak des modernes. Sour-gat, d'après les Arméniens, étoit situé dans la partie Orientale de la Crimée, distant de cinq milles géographiques de Caffa. Etienne Arantz, Archevêque Arménien, rapporte (^(II) Géographie, Partie ^{Deuxième} Tome II p. 329.) qu'une colonie Arménienne s'y établit après la ruine de la ville d'Am, saccagée par les Mahométans vers l'an 1320 de J. C.

4. Soudak est d'ailleurs une ville, si non antique, du moins bien antérieure à l'arrivée des génois en Crimée. Madame Guthrie (A tour through Taurida &c. London 1802. 4^e p. 327.) assure qu'elle étoit déjà en 786 siège d'un Archevêché. Ce fait, s'il étoit constaté, seroit décisif en faveur de mon hypothèse; mais j'avoue que je n'ai pu découvrir l'autorité d'après laquelle Madame Guthrie l'avance.

5. Ajoutons à ces inductions la route de Simine qui, ayant passé Caffa, se dirigea probablement vers l'ouest dans la direction de Constantinople; se porter de Caffa vers Anapa ou Sotichous-Kale, auroit été revenir sur ses pas. Or, Soudak ou Soldaja étoit alors la seule ville considérable qu'il y eût sur la côte depuis Caffa jusqu'au cap Baladwa.

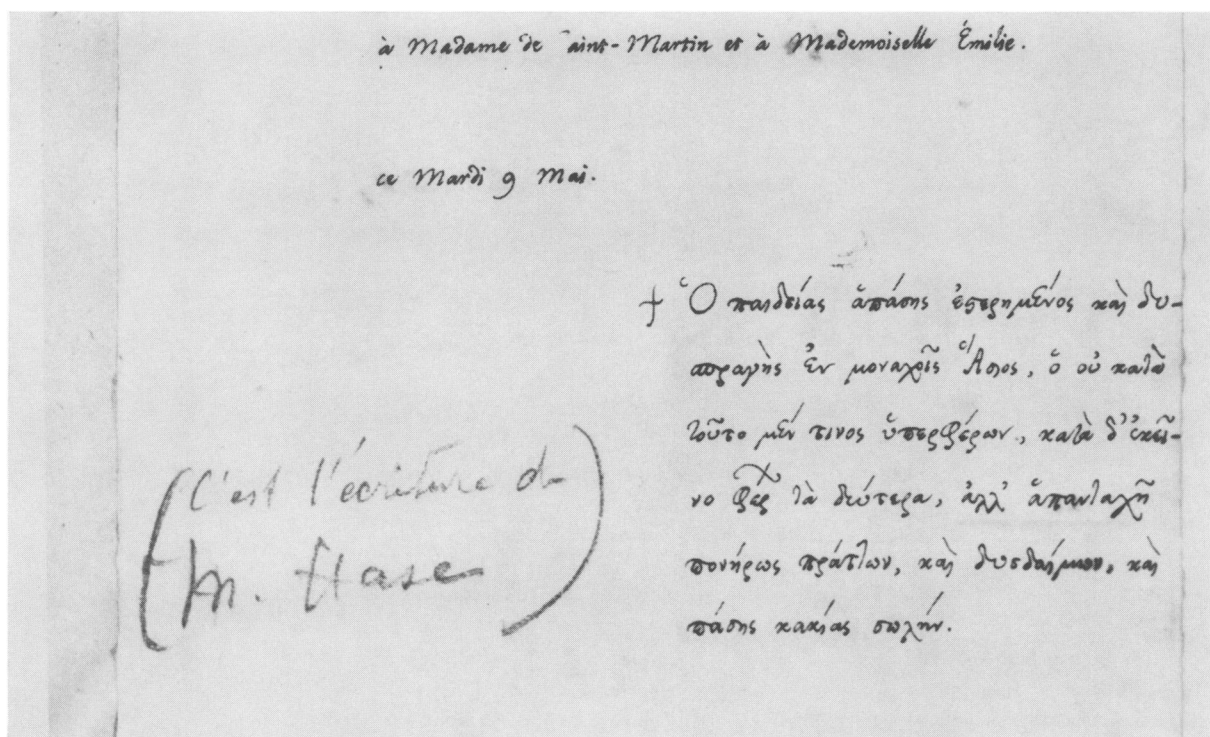
6. Il paroît enfin que le nom Tartare. Sou-dag, montagne Sou², est dérivé du mot Tartare dag, montagne du mot Sou, ce qui il renferme encore la première syllabe de celui de Sourage. Comme je me méfie toujours un peu des hypothèses fondées sur la seule conformité des sons, je n'attachois point d'importance à ne remarquer que je dis là, mais la ressemblance entre Sou et Sour existe toujours.

pas cette ressemblance, si elle était isolée; mais jointe aux autres faits elle ajoute, si je ne me trompe, un degré de probabilité à ma conjecture.

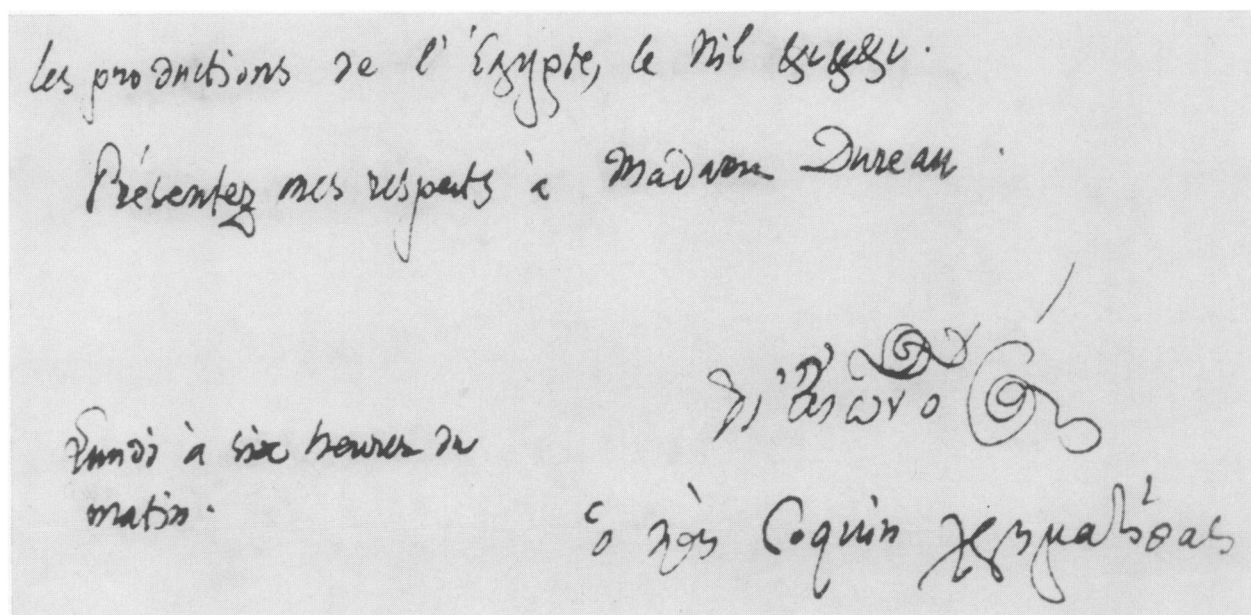
J'avoue cependant qu'il reste quelques difficultés que je ne saurois résoudre à moi seul. Il peut même paraître singulier que les Grecs qui parlent si souvent des Evêchés de Cherson (Ibid. T. 1829) et de Bosporus (ibid. T. 1827), ne fassent jamais mention de l'Archevêché de Sarat. Disons-nous que l'Evêché de Bosporus et l'Archevêché de Sarat ne sent peut-être qu'un seul, et que le siège de ces Prélats, se trouvant établi, à différentes époques, tantôt dans l'un tantôt dans l'autre de ces deux villes, les Byzantins les aient toujours nommés Evêques de Bosporus en quel lieu que fût leur résidence?

Quoiqu'il en soit, Monsieur, je crois avoir rendu probable au moins l'identité de Soudan et du Sarat de Constantin. Quant à celle de Sarat et de Sourage, c'est à N. E. de voir si ma conjecture s'accorde avec les particularités rapportées dans les annales Russes de cette dernière ville. Peut-être pourrais-je donner un degré de probabilité de plus à mon opinion en consultant des ouvrages Russes et Allemands; mais je me trouve dans une bibliothèque, et je puis dire dans une ville, où il n'y a presque point des premiers, et peu des seconds. Réduit par conséquent aux auteurs Grecs je m'estimerois heureux toutes les fois quand dans ceux-ci et dans le nombre de notes historiques et géographiques que j'ai recueillies en exami-

Les ouvrages inédits de notre bibliothèque, il se trouvera quelques
détails qui peuvent aider les recherches de M. E.
Je n'ai point voulu retarder l'examen de votre petite dissertation,
mais j'espère que dans une quinzaine de jours, je pourrais vous
faire parvenir l'autorité des épreuves de dévotion dont le tirage est
achevé. On a achevé maintenant de l'impression des notes, et
l'on n'aura plus qu'à imprimer la fin de l'ouvrage, tout sera terminé. Il
me tarde de faire connaître à l'Europe savante combien je suis
pénétré des sentiments de reconnaissance et de respect avec lesquels
j'ai l'honneur d'être
Monsieur le Ministre
de votre Excellence
Paris ce 7 juillet 1856. Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
C. B. Hase.



23A. Paris *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises* 9115, p. 115. Signature from Hase's Letter to Saint-Martin



23B. Paris *Supplément Grec* 925, fol. 8^v. Signature from Hase's Letter to Dureau de La Malle

1813

6

17 janvier. Σήμερον ἐν ταῖς ἐργασίαις τῆς
(long) Βασιλείας [= Moniteur] ἄρθρον περὶ
Τούρου.

14 janvier. Défense du Ministère de l'inter de livres : la
Bibliothèque

15 janv. Wahl des Boissnade.

17 janv. ... πρὸς τὸν ἄνακτα (Mme Kap.), ὃς οὐ
μοι ἀρέσκει.

2 fev. Εὐρίσκω τὸν Ἀρδεβίχ, ὃς τῆς
Βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τοῦ ἀνακτος
(Mme Kap.) τῆς Παλατίνας (= Dame du Palais)
ἀιτιᾶται.

4 fev. Tractat τὸν ἀνέψιον im café Riche

8 fev. Im Gespräch mit Humboldt, τὸν
ἄνακτα οὐκ ἐπὶ νύκτα, ἀνακλόντά μοι
καὶ ἀπειθοῦντά. ὃς δὲ Γρέλλης μοι τὴν
βραδυτῆτα ἐπιτιμᾷ.

10 fev. Σήμερον ἡ Δούκισσα παρούσα
ἐδῶξέν μοι ἐπιτιμᾷ ὅτι ἄντι περὶ εἶμι
πρὸς τὸν Ναπολέοντα. ὃς δ' ἄναξ ἐπὶ νύκτα
περὶ δάκτυλον (iii) καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο γράψαι

17 fev. Ναπολέον τοῦ δουκιδότου ἤρξατο.

18 fev. Herausgeschmissen, mit... ἐμεθύσαν ὁκνόν.
Weiß?

1814

11

2 avril. Περὶ τῶν πρώτων παραγόνων
ἔρδμεν. ἐγὼ οὖν ἔχον χρήματα
παρὰ τοῦ ῥάτου καὶ ἔφαγον
ὄσπρεα καὶ πύθρεκ σὺν ἔρδμιν.
ἔπειτα περίπατος, καὶ συνουσία σὺν
τῇ Π. ἐν κλίνῃ οὐδῃ.

29 avril. Δαρβέλιος vient à la Bihl. et
lui dit: méchant homme.

28 juillet. Ο Φούος φέρων μοι τὴν
πραγματικὴν τοῦ Πούρου.

24 sept. Ο Ναπολέων σφόδρα ἔκλυσε
περὶ πενίας. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν
μητέρα τοῦ Τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας
φρ.

4 oct. Συνουσία σὺν τῇ Κύρῃ τῆς
Διόδου.

5 oct. Μέγας γόβος περὶ ἀφροδισιακοῦ
πάθους.

6 mai. ΔΕΙΨΝΟΝ καὶ συνουσίαν μετ' αὐτοῦ
 2 Sept. « Das war der glücklichste Augenblick meines
 Lebens. » Nichts weiter.

17 nov. Ἀδελφὴ, oben Nina(?) Μοδρότη, νix(?)
 Ελπίδα, ἢ ἀνοήτῳ.

21 nov. Ἦν Krank; fällt leicht; ἔλαστα ἦν
 ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ καὶ ἔγραψε μοι ἡ
 Λουΐζα ὅτι ὁ οὐρανός μου οὐδὲν κατέ-
 βαλεν.

1819

3 april. Μεγάλη συνουσία σὺν δύοι γυναῖξι.
 So tröstet er sich gewöhnlich wenn er
 oder seine Freunde Kummer haben.

9 june. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐθαύμασα τὸ κάλλος τῆς
 Πανήσεως Τρωαδίου, καὶ ἐξῶν συνε-
 γενόμενῃ γυναῖξι.

29 june. Φορούμενος ἀρροδιακῶν πέρι.

13 nov. Τὴν δ' ἐσπεραν ἀγέρας τὴν
 Π. συνεγενόμενῃ τῇ ὡραίᾳ τῆς
 παρρηβολῆς.

30 nov. Συνεγενόμενῃ γυναῖξι δύοιν,
 ὁμοῖον ἔχουσιν.

1820 Mmme (sic)

Donc 1820, voir p. 103, 104.

1829

32

21 juin. Σήμερον τὰ ἑτάγια τοῦ τὰδαι-
πώρου Κοροκόικου, den er "ἀναξ ημεῖς"
27 juin. Bei ihm scheint Beger & X(ing)
Händler gewesen zu sein.

6 juillet. Πρωτὶ ἡνγαλόν ψευδαλεξάνδρου τοῦ
κατὰ τυράνων στίχους

10 juillet. Ο Κρίξ, οἱ ἐξ Ἀργενταρίου
Παιδαγωγός.

1 août. Solenne Tabaksdon von Reuveny
geschenkt.

6 août. Scheint sie verkauft zu haben.

8 août ... ἐπανεκδόντων ἐλάτῃσε φρικτῶς [en
marche σφόδρα] πως ὁ Φιγαῶ· ὥστε
πρὸς ἡμᾶς χάρισε τὴν ῥ. Ἐπ' ἀνός ἐλεανός·
δείπνον ἐν τῷ κυανῷ ὠροδείκτῃ, γάμος
ἐκεῖ καὶ συννούσι. Φρικτὴ ἡμέρα.

10 août. Ἐπιστολὴ ἀπειλητικὴ τοῦ Προτίνδου. - Sic

27 sept. τῆς Λουΐσης τῇ ἑσπέρα πρὸς μάγοντα
ἵνα βουλομένης (Hls vieille?)

11 oct. - Ἦν σφόδρα κεκμηκῶς, ὥστ' εἰς
εἰς ἑδρὴν ἵνα ἦδ' ἐπεὶ ἐνδεκάτην ἔσαν.

24 oct. δ' αὖτε δ' ἐβασί, ἡδὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἀθίου Γερμανῆς, περὶ ᾧ ἐλυπήθην.

